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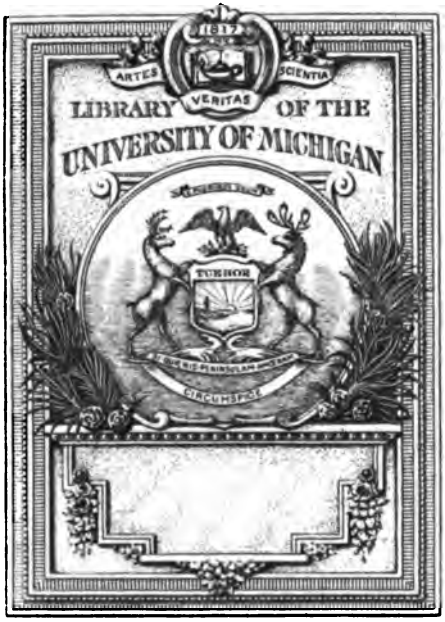
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A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

LANGUAGES, LITERATURE,

AND

MANNERS

OF

EASTERN NATIONS.

EL

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, AND MANNERS OF EASTERN NATIONS.

Originally prefixed to a DICTIONARY, PERSIAN, ARABIC, and ENGLISH.

THE SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

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Containing ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS,

TOGETHER WITH

FURTHER REMARKS ON

A New Analyſis of Ancient Mythology:

IN ANSWER TO

An APOLOGY, addreſſed to the Author, by JACOB BRYANT, ESQ.

BY JOHN RICHARDSON, ESQ. F.S.A.
OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE,
AND OF WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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CHAP. I.

Of Eastern Language.

SECT. I.

The connexion of Language with Manners. The origin of antient tongues involved in darkneſs. Short hiſtory of the Arabic. The character now in uſe invented in the tenth century.

THE Manners of Mankind muſt ever form an intereſting enquiry. In every age and climate they diſplay a wonderful diverſity of character; and exhibit a picture ſo variouſly coloured, that we are convinced by experience alone, that the great original of the whole is Man. In all inveſtiga-

tions of this important ſubject, Language claims a ſuperior degree of attention: in many points it will be found a moſt unerring guide; and, when viewed on philoſophic ground, may be conſidered as one great barometer of the barbarity or civilization of a people. A poverty of dialect is generally accompanied by ſavageneſs and ignorance: refinement is only advanced by a general diffuſion of knowledge; and knowledge muſt neceſſarily be confined within narrow limits, till written language has conveyed it through every order of men. No authority can, at the ſame time, ſo deciſively fix the peculiar habits and purſuits of a nation as the ſounds by which they articulate their ideas. The vanity of a traveller may heighten a plain ſtory into the marvellous; and the credulity of a hiſtorian may give a currency to the fiction: but, when radical words, in any tongue, are expreſſive of certain cuſtoms, objects, and modes of thinking; our reaſon cannot, for a moment, entertain a doubt of their exiſtence. *

Into this train of thought I have been led, by that minute attention to the analyſis of the Perſian and Arabic idioms, which the conſtruction of my work unavoidably required: and I was willing to ſoften the extreme painfulneſs of inceſſant labour, on a ſubject naturally dry, by occaſionally tracing, together

with Eaſtern language, the oppoſition and coincidence of Aſiatic and European cuſtoms. Some points will of conſequence be touched, which, at firſt view, may have no apparent tendency to advance the acquiſition of thoſe tongues: yet the mere ſcience of words is, after all, but the outline of language; whilſt the colouring and expreſſion are only to be found in the virtues and the genius, in the vices and the follies of a people. In the courſe of this enquiry I ſhall have occaſion, at the ſame time, to doubt of many received opinions; and to queſtion the poſitions of ſome ſuperior men: whoſe want of knowledge in the languages of the Eaſt has produced much falſe reaſoning; whilſt their attachment to ſyſtem has heaped error upon error, and raiſed ſplendid fabricks upon pillars of ice.

THE origin of Ancient Tongues, like all reſearch into high antiquity, is naturally involved in perplexity and darkneſs; and every diſquiſition, however ingenious, muſt reſt at laſt on the uncertain baſis of fancy and conjecture. Yet, on this viſionary field, learned and pious men have diſputed with much want of temper. The original language of man has been conſidered as an intereſting purſuit; and advocates have been found for the ſuperior claim of every ancient tongue: Adam has

been taught dialects he never knew; and the language even of Omnipotence they have not bluſhed to determine with preciſion. To pierce through the obſcurity of thoſe diſtant periods, ſeems however above the powers of man; and to have no other tendency, than unprofitably to bewilder the human underſtanding. I ſhall avoid therefore thoſe unknown regions, through which there appears no guide; and confine myſelf to the ſimple information of reaſon and probability. [e]

THE ſource of the *Arabic* language lies far beyond hiſtoric proof. Grammarians carry the older dialect to the family of Heber, the fourth in deſcent from Noah: and the more modern to Iſhmael, the ſon of Abraham. Theſe are Arabian tales: yet they apparently furniſh this ſtrong concluſion; That when nations have recourſe to fable and tradition for the epoch of an invention, no period, within the demonſtration of record, can poſſibly be found to fix its more exact commencement. Though rude perhaps in its origin, and gradual in its progreſs to improvement, the richneſs of the Arabic has been long proverbial; and many circumſtances have concurred to render it not only the moſt copious of any known tongue; but to preſerve it uncorrupted

amidſt all the political and literary revolutions of ſurrounding ſtates. [a]

THE Arabians were never conquered. The Romans, the Perſians, and the Ethiopians, made indeed, at different times, impreſſions upon particular diſtricts: but they were all too ſlight, and of too ſhort duration, to introduce any material alteration into their government, their language, or their manners. From very early times, this immenſe peninſula was divided into many ſtates; ſome independent, and others tributary to the Tobbas or Hemyaret ſovereigns of Arabia Felix. In thoſe ſtates many different dialects prevailed; the principal of which were the *Hemyaret* and the *Koreiſh*. The firſt, though the language of the moſt powerful of the Arabian princes, appears however to have been little cultivated by the independent tribes; or even by thoſe who paid them a feudal obedience: a remarkable inſtance of which is related by Mohammedan writers. An envoy from a feudatory ſtate having been ſent to the Tobba, that prince, when he was introduced, pronounced the word *T'heb*; which in the Hemyaret implied *Be ſeated*: unhappily it ſignified, *Precipitate yourſelf* in the native dialect of the Ambaſſador; who, with a ſingular deference for the orders of his ſovereign, without heſi-

tation or enquiry, threw himſelf inſtantly from the caſtle wall, and periſhed. *

THE Koreiſh tribe were the nobleſt and the moſt learned of all the Weſtern Arabs: they were alſo the greateſt merchants, and carried on an extenſive commerce with every adjacent ſtate: whilſt the Kaaba, or Square Temple of Mecca, which, before the era of Mohammed, was ſolely under their guardianſhip, drew annually a great concourſe of pilgrims from every Arabian tribe, and from every country where the Sabian religion prevailed. Where many ſtrangers are accuſtomed to aſſemble at ſtated times, politeneſs and refinement are a natural conſequence. Numbers of the pilgrims were people of the firſt rank, and poſſeſſed of all the ſcience peculiar to their country or their age. Great fairs were held during their reſidence; and a variety of gay amuſements filled up the intervals of their religious duties. Of thoſe entertainments, literary compoſitions held the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank; every man of genius conſidering not his own reputation alone, but even that of his nation or his tribe, as intereſted in his ſucceſs. Poetry and rhetoric were chiefly cultivated and admired: the firſt being looked upon as highly ornamental; and the other, as a neceſſary accompliſhment in the education of every leading man. An aſſem-

bly at a place called *Ocadh*, had been eſtabliſhed, in conſequence, about the end of the ſixth century; where all were admitted to a rivalſhip of genius. The merits of their reſpective productions were impartially determined by the aſſembly at large; and the moſt approved of their poems, written on ſilk, in characters of gold, were, with much ſolemnity, ſuſpended in the temple; as the higheſt mark of honour which could be conferred on literary men. Theſe poems were called *Moallakat* (ſuſpended), or *Modhahebat* (golden). Seven of them are in many European libraries, being the compoſitions of *Amralkeis*, *Tarafa*, *Zoheir*, *Lebid*, *Antara*, *Amru*, and *Hareth*.

A STORY told of Lebid and Mohammed diſplays the genius and manners of the Arabians in thoſe days. It was cuſtomary for the great poets to fix, upon the gate of the temple, diſtichs, or longer compoſitions, as a general challenge againſt the next meeting of the Ocadh aſſembly. Lebid had put up a couplet there, which was thought ſo ſublime, that none would hazard any thing in competition: till Mohammed at length placing by it the opening of the ſecond chapter of the Alcoran, Lebid no ſooner ſaw it, than he conceived it to be ſomething divine; tore down his own verſes; and immediately, from being a de-

termined enemy to the new religion, became one of Mohammed's firmeſt and moſt powerful friends. He was particularly uſeful in anſwering the lampoons of the prince Amralkeis, who continued, till his death, one of the prophet's keeneſt and moſt formidable opponents. [8]

FROM this uncommon attention to promote emulation, and to refine their language, the dialect of the Koreiſh became the pureſt, the richeſt, and the moſt polite of all the Arabian idioms. It was ſtudied therefore in preference to all the reſt; and about the beginning of the ſeventh century, became the general language of Arabia: the other dialects being either incorporated, or ſliding gradually into diſuſe. By this ſingular idiomatic union, like the confluence of many ſtreams into one large river, the Arabic has acquired an uncommon fullneſs: whilſt the luxuriance of ſynonymes; and the equivocal or oppoſite ſenſes of the ſame or ſimilar words; have furniſhed their writers with a wonderful power of indulging, in the fulleſt range, their favourite paſſion for antitheſis and quaint alluſion. Examples of the contrary ſenſes, in which the ſame words are received, may be found in almoſt every page of the Dictionary; but a ſhort anecdote from the hiſtory of the Khalifs will

ſhow how much Eaſtern genius pointed to ſuch diſtinctions. [h]

THE great Mahmoud, Sultan of Ghezna, was the ſon of a ſlave; but having ſtretched his conqueſts over a great part of India and Tartary, in the beginning of the eleventh century, he ſent an ambaſſador to the Khalif Alkader, requeſting from that prince, as the fountain of honour among the Mohammedans, a title ſuitable to his rank and power. The Khalif, on account of the meanneſs of his origin, declined compliance for twelve months: till urged by the ambaſſador, and dreading Mahmoud's reſentment, he ſent him at length the ambiguous title ولي *veli*, which implies, *A prince, a friend*, and alſo *a ſlave*. Mahmoud eaſily penetrated into the Khalif's meaning; and ſent immediately 100,000 pieces of gold, with a wiſh to know, Whether a letter had not been omitted. Alkader underſtood him, and ſoon after diſpatched letters patent in full form, creating him والي *vali*; which ſignifies, without equivocation, a *Sovereign independent Prince*. [i]

As the Pagan Arabians had a number of dialects, they had alſo a variety of characters; but all of them ſo perplexed in their formation, and ſo difficult in their uſe; that, about the beginning of the ſeventh century,

they adopted the invention of *Moramer Ebn Morra*, a native of Babylonian Irak. In this character the Alcoran was originally written: it was afterwards improved under the denomination of *Cufik*; and continued in uſe till the appearance of the *Niskhi*, in the tenth century of our era. As this new mode of writing ſoon univerſally prevailed, the other gradually declined; and it is now only to be found in the manuſcripts and inſcriptions of the firſt ages of the Hejra. The *Niskhi*, which, with ſome variation or corruption, is the ſame which now prevails in Arabia, Perſia, India, and other Eaſtern countries, is generally aſcribed to *Ebn Moklah*, vizir to the Khalifs Al Moktader, Al Kaher, and Arradi, who reigned from 908 to 940 of our era: but it afterwards underwent the alterations and improvements of many eminent penmen of diſtinguiſhed rank; particularly of *Nezam* and *Tograi*, vizirs to the Sultans Jelaleddin and Maſud; and of *Yakut*, ſecretary to Al Moſtaſem, the laſt of the Khalifs of Bagdad.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Strictures on the language of Ancient Perſia. The inconſiſtencies of various writers with regard to Zoroaſter and his works. The Sadder publiſhed by Dr. Hyde; and the Zend Aveſta by Du Perron not authentic. The Zend language not genuine. Obſervations on the Farſi and Pehlævi dialects. The ſpecimens of old Perſian in the Religio Veterum Perſarum ſimply modern language in ancient characters.

THE language ſpoken anciently in Perſia opens a wide field for unſatisfactory enquiry. Dr. Hyde derives it from that of Media; which is much the ſame as deducing one jargon of the Saxon Heptarchy from another. The union of thoſe people, named by Europeans, *the Medes and Perſians*, is of ſuch high antiquity, that it is loſt in darkneſs; and long precedes every glimmering we can diſcover of the origin of their ſpeech: whatever their language was, therefore, it muſt have evidently been very early the ſame, with the

ſimple and common variation of provincial idiom. But in this tongue we have no genuine remains. We are told, indeed, that it was the language in which Zoroaſter promulgated his religion and laws; but this advances not our enquiry: for where or when did Zoroaſter live? and where do the works which have been attributed to him exiſt? The writers both of the Eaſt and Weſt ſpeak ſo vaguely, and differ ſo pointedly, with regard to this perſonage, that it is compleatly impoſſible to fix either the country or the period which gave him birth; whilſt the Zeratuſht of the Perſians bears ſo little reſemblance to the Zoroaſter of the Greeks, that unleſs Dr. Hyde, and other Orientaliſts, had reſolved, at all events, to reconcile the identity of their perſons, we ſhould have much difficulty to diſcover a ſingle ſimilar feature. Thoſe fragments of his ſuppoſed works which the learned Doctor has given us, under the title of the *Sadder*, are the wretched rhymes of a modern Parſi Deſtour (prieſt), who lived about three centuries ago: from that work we cannot then have even the glimpſe of an original tongue, nor any thing authentic of the genius of the law-giver: whilſt the publications of M. Anquetil du Perron (Oriental interpreter to the king of France) carry palpable marks of the

total or partial fabrication of modern times: and give great weight to the opinion of Sir John Chardin; That the old dialect of Perſia (excepting what remains in the preſent language) is loſt; that apparently no books now exiſt in it; and that the jargon and characters of the Parſis of Carmania and Guzerat are barbarous corruptions or inventions of the Guebre prieſts; without the leaſt ſimilitude to the inſcriptions ſtill diſcernible on the ancient ruins of Perſepolis.

In ſupport of Chardin's general idea, I ſhall make a few obſervations on M. Anquetil's *Zend Aveſta*. *In the firſt place*, The number of Arabic words, found both in his *Zend* and *Pehlvi* dialects, furniſhes one ſtrong preſumption of their modern date; as no Arabic was introduced into the Perſian idiom earlier than the ſeventh century of the Chriſtian era.

Secondly, The harſh texture of the Zend ſeems to be oppoſite to the genius of Perſian pronunciation; and apparently incompatible with their organs of ſpeech. There are certain ſounds, to which we find ſome nations have an invincible antipathy. The French, the Italians, and other foreigners, can hardly ever be taught to articulate the Engliſh *th*. The Perſians, if poſſible, entertain even a greater averſion to a ſound ſomewhat ſimilar, (or ra-

ther *t'h*, with a ſtrong aſpiration); and have accordingly, in every word adopted from the Arabic, changed it uniformly to *s*. But in M. Anquetil's Zend, the words in which it occurs are uncommonly numerous; and, in his alphabet, we have a character, which, to leave no doubt of the ſound he means to give it, he illuſtrates, by placing it on a line with the Arabic ث *th* or *t'h*. The *Farſi* and *Pehlavi* dialects, he ſays, at the ſame time, were ſiſter deſcendants from the Zend; and had come off the parent ſtock previous to the era of Zoroaſter: in that idea they muſt all have been ſpoken in Perſia at the ſame period: but neither in the Pehlavi, the Farſi, or in the more modern Perſian, is there a character to be found in the moſt diſtant degree expreſſive of this ſound. That men may be taught to conquer a defect in ſpeech, we know is poſſible; but that a people ſhould have powers to articulate with facility, in one cotemporary dialect, ſounds which they found impracticable in another, is a ſuppoſition juſtified by no example, and diametrically inconſiſtent with all the laws of nature.

Thirdly, It does not appear to have the moſt diſtant radical reſemblance to the modern dialect of Perſia: a circumſtance which all obſervation declares to be impoſſible, had it ever

exiſted as an ancient Perſian idiom. No convulſions of government, no efforts of the learned, can ever ſo far alter a language, as to deface every line of reſemblance between the ſpeech of the preſent day and that of even the remoteſt anceſtry: nothing but the abſolute extirpation of the aboriginal natives can apparently accompliſh ſo ſingular a revolution. If we look into the languages of modern Europe, we ſhall diſcover every where the ſtrongeſt features of their Gothic or Celtic original; amidſt all the refinement of Roman and Grecian embelliſhment. If we examine the dialect of the modern Greeks, notwithſtanding their ſlaviſh ſubjection to the deſpotiſm of the Turks, we ſhall find corruption has but ſlightly diſguiſed the original tongue. When we view the Syriac, long after that country had been under the rule of Alexander's ſucceſſors, the texture we perceive unaltered; a ſlight mixture of Grecian words making all the difference. When we compare the modern Perſian with the idiom which prevailed during the Saſſanian dynaſty, we obſerve it now only enriched by a copious introduction of Arabic words; yet ſtill retaining every characteriſtic feature which it poſſeſſed before the Mohammedan conqueſt. But the Zend, ſo far from having the leaſt ſimilitude to one of the moſt

regular languages in the world, has more the air of a *Lingua Franca*, culled from the dialects of every ſurrounding country; grouped together with little pretenſion to grammatical propriety; and more pointedly reſembling the ſpells of Necromancers, than the language of a people, famed at all times for the melody of their accents.

THE laſt reaſon I ſhall offer, on this ground, is the uncommon ſtupidity of the work itſelf. The *Zeratuſht* of Perſia, or the *Zoroaſter* of the Greeks, was highly celebrated by the moſt diſcerning people of ancient times; and his tenets, we are told, were moſt eagerly and rapidly embraced by the higheſt in rank, and the wiſeſt men in the Perſian empire. But could his ſucceſs have poſſibly been ſo remarkable, had his religion breathed only the moſt jejune puerilities; without one ray of genius to reſcue it from contempt? without a ſentiment that could elevate the ſoul, or give one dignified idea of Omnipotence? What is thrown into the notes from the *Vendidad Sadé*, will give a ſpecimen of the whole. It is by no means ſelected as the worſt: on that ground my choice muſt have been much perplexed. It firſt ſtruck my fancy; and my partiality for it was confirmed, merely from it's being ſhorter than many others, which had even a

ſuperior claim to diſgrace the human underſtanding. From the whole therefore I remain at preſent of opinion, that M. Anquetil has made no diſcovery which can ſtamp his publications with authority. He brings no evidence of the leaſt antiquity; and we are only diſguſted with the frivolous ſuperſtition and never-ending ceremonies of the modern Worſhippers of Fire.

I SHALL now proceed to make ſome obſervations on the modern idiom of Perſia; and to point out the origin of that ſingular and intimate connection which it has long maintained with the language of Arabia. Early in Perſia, as in every wide extended empire, there were many provincial dialects, diſtinguiſhed chiefly by the names of thoſe provinces where they were ſpoken: the principal of which were the *Parſi* or *Farſi*, and the *Pehlavi*. The firſt was the dialect of Farſiſtan (Perſia Proper), and had an extenſive range over the moſt civilized of the lower diſtricts: whilſt the Pehlavi prevailed chiefly around the Mazenderan or Caſpian Sea, and in the more mountainous dependencies of the empire. So rude however was the Pehlavi conſidered, that, after having been diſcountenanced at court as early, it is ſaid, as the reign of Bahaman, about 400 years before Chriſt, it

was at length proſcribed in a formal edict by Behram Gur, in the fifth century of our era; and ſoon after ceaſed to be a living language. The *Farſi*, on this event, as it had long been the principal, became now the only language of Perſia; being ſubdivided into the *Zebani Deri*, or the language of the court, and the *Zebani Farſi*, the dialect of Perſia at large. It is to this language, which ſeems to have been peculiarly cultivated by the great and the learned above twelve hudred years before the Mohammedan era, that we ſhould apparently point our reſearches for Perſian literature previous to that period: and not to the uncourtly Pehlavi. So early neglected by the ſuperior orders of men, and confined entirely amongſt the booriſh mountaineers and unlettered peaſants, it appears to be equally improbable, that men of genius ſhould have preferred this rude idiom to the poliſhed *Deri*; as to ſuppoſe a Voltaire to have written in the Bas Breton; or an Addiſon in the moſt rugged of our county dialects.

The *Deri* was improved with uncommon care by the Saſſanian princes; many of whom, as well as their vizirs and great officers, publiſhed works in it: which, though at preſent hardly known, are mentioned with high approbation by ſucceeding writers. Amongſt

the chief of thoſe royal and noble authors was Ardeſhir Babegan, the firſt prince of this dynaſty, who began his reign A. D. 202. He wrote a *Karnamé*, or journal of his public and private life: and alſo a work of morality; which being afterwards improved by Nouſhirvan the Juſt, (who flouriſhed in the ſixth century), was ſent by him to all his governors, as the invariable rule of their conduct. The *Zefer namé*, written by Bouzour, vizir to Nouſhirvan, is better known; having been modernized by the celebrated phyſician and vizir Avicenna, about the beginning of the eleventh century. Thoſe books, could they now be recovered in their original language, would apparently be an acquiſition far ſuperior to a thouſand ſuch volumes as M. Anquetil's *Zend Aveſta*. Excluſive of their intrinſic value, with regard to Perſian Hiſtory, manners, politics, and morals, they would ſhew the preciſe diſtinction between the ancient and modern dialects: for if what Dr. Hyde has given us, as the words of Ardeſhir, is authentic, the language of this prince, though called *Old Perſian* by that very learned gentleman, is actually, when decyphered, ſimply the modern in ancient characters: and if his book is written in the ſame tongue, (which is probably the caſe) the whole dif-

ference between the language of the early kings of Perſia, and that which now remains, ſeems to reſt entirely in the difference of character, and in the introduction of the Arabic; which began to take place in the ſeventh century of the Chriſtian era. [t]

SECT. III.

Changes introduced, by the Arabian conqueſt, in the government, religion, and language of Perſia. The Macedonians and Arabians perſecute the religion of the Magi; and deſtroy their books. Probable cauſes of this ſeverity. The Parſis fly from the Arabian proſcription, and ſettle in Guzerat and other places. They acknowledge that their books are of modern date. The Perſian language neglected by the Mohammedans till the tenth century. Becomes blended with Arabic on its revival. Singular attention paid by Eaſtern princes to learned men. Decline of Oriental literature after the invaſions of Gengiz Khan and Tamerlane. Leading diſtinctions between Weſtern and Eaſtern genius. The uſefulneſs of the Perſian and Arabic languages in Hindoſtan.

BEFORE the appearance of Mohammed, the Arabians, confined within their own peninſula, made no figure on the theatre of Aſia; and were, in a political light, known only to be deſpiſed by the Grecian and the Perſian powers. But the enthuſiaſm, genius, and intrepidity of one extraordinary man, ſoon changed the ſcene; and gave a beginning to revolutions equally rapid as complete. The numerous Arabian tribes Mohammed, by various means, converted to his faith, or ſubjected to his power; but died before any impreſſion was made upon the adjacent ſtates. Abubeker led the way to foreign conqueſt; and his ſucceſſor Omar, in the ſhort ſpace of four years, ſaw the Khalifat extended from Egypt to the frontiers of India. Perſia was one of the nobleſt acquiſitions of the Mohammedan arms; the deciſive victory of *Kadeſſia*, in the year 636, throwing this mighty empire under the Arabian yoke, as that of *Arbela* had formerly ſubjected it to Alexander. The conſequences however of the two revolutions had nothing ſimilar: the Macedonian conqueſt produced only a change of princes; the Kaianian dynaſty of Perſian kings giving way to the ſucceſſors of their Grecian conqueror: but that of the Arabians proved a

radical ſubverſion of every characteriſtic circumſtance which diſtinguiſhes nation from nation. The ancient government of the Perſians was overturned; their religion proſcribed; their laws trampled upon; and their civil tranſactions diſturbed by the forcible introduction of the lunar for the ſolar calendar: whilſt their language, which the laws of nature preſerved from immediate and abſolute annihilation, became almoſt overwhelmed by an inundation of Arabic words; which, from that period, religion, authority, and faſhion, incorporated with their idiom. [a]

THE worſhip of the ancient Perſians had unqueſtionably been very early corrupted. The reverence paid to the Sun and to Fire, which Zoroaſter conſidered perhaps merely as repreſentatives of Omnipotence, the fountain of light, ſeems to have been an idea too refined for the groſs capacities of the vulgar: who, without regard to the great inviſible Prototype, turned all their thoughts to the adoration of thoſe oſtenſible deities. Much abſurd and barbarous ſuperſtition muſt in conſequence have crept in, and clouded by degrees the purer faith of their anceſtors. Upon other grounds it will be difficult to account for that ſingular ſeverity with which Alexander firſt, and afterwards the Arabian

Khalifs, reprobated the tenets of the Magi; deſtroyed their books; and perſecuted, with unrelenting rigour, all who made profeſſion of their religion. [b]

THE Grecians and Romans had enlarged ſentiments of toleration. They adopted the gods of all the nations they ſubdued: and, in the belief, that every people and every place had their tutelary divinities, they were at uncommon pains to pleaſe them, and were equally careful in avoiding all offence. From Arrian we learn, that Alexander ſacrificed to the Babyloniſh gods and other Aſiatic deities, though then unknown in Greece: and we are told by Pliny, that the firſt endeavour of the Romans, when beſieging a city, was to diſcover the name of the guardian divinity (without which, it ſeems, they could make no invocation); when, by promiſes of greater honours than he had hitherto enjoyed, they endeavoured to bribe him to betray his former votaries. Such having been the extended ideas of the old Polytheiſts, we are forced to conclude, That ſome ſingular circumſtances of intolerance and horror had marked the Magian rites, which peculiarly provoked the vengeance of their Macedonian conqueror. [c]

A SIMILAR reaſon muſt account for that uncommon ſeverity with which they were

cruſhed by their Moſlem maſters. Theſe enthuſiaſts, it muſt be confeſſed, knew little of the tolerant principles of the ancient Greeks; and conſidered it as a religious duty to eſtabliſh their new faith with fire and ſword. To the Chriſtians, Jews, Sabians, and other ſects, they paid, however, ſome ſhow of reſpect; and permitted them, if averſe to Moſlemiſm, to follow their old belief, on paying a certain extraordinary tribute. But their fury againſt the Magi knew no bounds; deſtruction or converſion being the only alternatives they deigned to offer. The body of the nation choſe the laſt; whilſt the ſmall remainder of confirmed enthuſiaſts ſheltered themſelves in the mountains of Kuhiſtan. Some retired to the iſle of Ormuz; whence they afterwards embarked for Diu; and at length, towards the cloſe of the eighth century, they obtained permiſſion to ſettle in Surat, and other places in the territory of Guzerat: where their deſcendants, under the denomination of Parſis or Guebres, by avoiding all intermarriage with the aboriginal natives of Hindoſtan, ſtill maintain themſelves a diſtinct body of harmleſs and unpowerful people. [4]

IT may be ſaid, perhaps, that the religion and learning of the Magi was by no

means the ſingle object of Mohammedan devaſtation; the deſtruction of the famous library of Alexandria being another memorial of the execrable zeal of the Khalif Omar. It is true, that this great but bigoted prince, conſidering all books which coincided with the Alcoran to be ſuperfluous, and all that oppoſed its doctrines to be pernicious, iſſued his barbarian mandate to deſtroy that noble monument of ancient learning and magnificence: but ſtill there was nothing ſtriking in the perſecution of the Egyptians; the general mode of an advanced tribute being all that was exacted, for permiſſion to follow the various religious ſyſtems, which prevailed in that country previous to the conqueſt. *

THESE ſingular events, which marked the fate of the Perſian religion, joined to the unſucceſsful reſearches which have hitherto been made, ſeem to furniſh ſtrong collateral evidence in ſupport of the foregoing arguments: and lead us to conclude, with every circumſtance of probability, That the original works of the Perſian lawgiver have long ago fallen a ſacrifice to the ravages of time and of conqueſt; that the publications of M. Anquetil have no pretenſions to authenticity; and that nothing now remains, bearing the names of thoſe once celebrated books, but the abſurd

ceremonials of the modern Guebres; which preſerve, apparently, no nearer reſemblance to the ancient Worſhip of Perſia, than the corrupted tenets of the Mingrelians or Georgians have to the Chriſtian religion. The Parſis of Guzerat even acknowledge, that, ſo far from now poſſeſſing the ancient books of Zoroaſter, they have not ſo much as one ſingle copy ſaved by their anceſtors from the general wreck in the ſeventh century: the formularies which they now uſe, being only tranſcripts of a tranſlation by Ardeſhir, one of their Deſtours, who lived about 400 years ago. In Europe, we have had many inſtances of the forgery of books, in matters of mere curioſity; and we have found their detection difficult. But how much more powerful muſt have been the temptation to the Guebre prieſts on the loſs of the writings of their lawgiver: for rule was their object; and they have ever ruled with deſpotiſm. Abſurd ceremony ſeems to have uſurped the place of common ſenſe; and the barbarous dialect of the Zend may poſſibly have been invented, to throw a more impenetrable veil over their myſterious nothings. A Parſi cannot even pare his nails, or cut his hair, without hundreds of unmeaning prayers, and the moſt tedious and ridiculous obſervances. But

every omiſſion is gainful to the prieſt: abſolution muſt be purchaſed; and a fine is the indiſpenſible conſequence of the moſt minute and involuntary failure. [f]

FROM the ſeventh till the tenth century, the Perſian tongue appears to have laboured under much diſcouragement and neglect. Baghdad, built by Almanſor, became ſoon after the year 762, the chief reſidence of the Khalifs, and the general reſort of the learned and the ambitious from every quarter of the empire: but the Arabic language, in a literary as well as in a religious light, was long the only object of attention and patronage: whilſt the Perſians, ruled with the iron hand of religious tyranny, ſeem to have been remembered by the Khalifs only to be deſpiſed, plundered, and oppreſſed. But the revolutions of the empire changed at length the ſcene; and the acceſſion of the *Buyah* princes to the Perſian throne marked, in the tenth century, the great epoch of the revival of Perſian learning. [g]

THE khalifat had now loſt much of its priſtine vigour; the fineſt kingdoms and provinces of the empire having been uſurped by various adventurers, who paid only a tributary obedience to the ſucceſſors of their prophet. Of thoſe feudatory chiefs, the moſt

powerful were the princes of the houſe of *Buyah*, otherwiſe called the *Deylemites*; who added to their high rank of kings of Perſia, the dignity of *Emiru'l'omra* to the Khalifs of Baghdad; an office nearly reſembling the *Maire du palais* to the *rois faineants* of the Merovingian race of France. An outward ſhow of reſpect and pomp was all that the Head of the Mohammedan religion now enjoyed; whilſt the ſolid power was completely engroſſed by the Emiru'l'omra. In this high ſtation, about the year 977, we find the great Azaduddowla; who firſt aſſumed the title of Sultan, afterwards ſo generally adopted by Eaſtern princes. He was born at Iſpahan, and had a ſtrong attachment to his native kingdom. He was an able general and an accompliſhed ſtateſman: he was munificent and learned. His court, whether at Baghdad or in the capital of Perſia, was the ſtandard of taſte, and the favourite reſidence of genius. The native dialect of the prince was particularly diſtinguiſhed; and became ſoon the general language of compoſition, in almoſt every branch of polite learning; after having been almoſt wholly neglected by literary men for above three hundred years.

FROM the end of the tenth, till the fifteenth century, may be conſidered as the moſt

flouriſhing period of Perſian learning. The Epic Poet Firdouſi, in his romantic hiſtory of the Perſian kings and heroes, diſplays an imagination and ſmoothneſs of numbers hardly inferior to Homer. The whole fanciful range of Perſian enchantment he has interwoven in his poems, which abound with the nobleſt efforts of genius: and he has ſtamped a dignity on the monſters and fabling of the Eaſt, equal to that which the prince of Epic poetry has given to the mythology of ancient Greece. His language may, at the ſame time, be conſidered as the moſt refined dialect of the *older Perſian* or *Deri*; the Arabic being introduced with a very ſparing hand: whilſt Sadi, Jami, Hafez, and other ſucceeding writers, in proſe as well as verſe, have blended in their works the Arabic without reſerve; gaining, perhaps, in the nervous luxuriance of the one language, what may ſeem to have been loſt in the ſofter delicacy of the other. [1]

FROM the above period, a literary rivalſhip ſeems to have ſubſiſted amongſt the Mohammedan princes who had diſmembered the Khalifat; every Sultan conſidering it as an object of the firſt conſequence, to number amongſt his friends, the moſt celebrated poets or philoſophers of their age. No expence

was ſpared to allure them to their courts; and no reſpect was wanting to fix a continuance of their attachment. [k]

THE Eaſtern princes ſeem indeed to have carried their attachment to men of genius to a very ſingular exceſs: even impriſoning them, if they ſuſpected them of an intention to retire. If they happened to eſcape, an embaſſy with preſents and apologies ſometimes followed the man of learning; and peremptory demands were often made, where gentler methods had not the deſired effect: a demand however ſeldom complied with, if the power of the ſovereign with whom they had taken refuge, bore any proportion to that of his competitor. I ſhall mention two examples. *Khakani*, a celebrated Perſian poet of the twelfth century, was a great favourite with the Sultan of Shirvan; but becoming at laſt diſguſted with the world, he deſired leave to retire into the religious order of the Derviſhes. The Sultan refuſing him permiſſion, he fled; but was purſued, brought back, and impriſoned for ſeveral months. Here he compoſed one of his fineſt elegies: but he was at length ſet at liberty; and ſoon after obtained leave to put his deſign in execution.—Mahmoud, Sultan of Ghezna, having invited ſome men of genius from the court of his ſon-in-law, the

king of Kharezmé, the celebrated *Avicenna*, who was of the number, refuſed to go; and retired to the capital of the Sultan of Jorjan. Mahmoud ordered immediately a number of portraits of this great phyſician to be copied; and ſent them all around, in order to diſcover his retreat. The fame of his cures had, in the mean time, reached the Sultan of Jorjan; who ſent for him to viſit a favourite nephew, whoſe malady had perplexed the faculty. Avicenna ſuppoſed it to be concealed love: and, in the idea that the fair object might be one of the ladies of the king's Haram, he deſired the chamberlain to deſcribe the apartments of the palace, whilſt he felt the prince's pulſe. On the mention of a particular quarter, he perceived an uncommon emotion in his patient; but the naming of the lady who lived in it, entirely removed his doubts. The ſequel is a perfect counterpart of the famous ſtory of Antiochus and Stratonice. The prince was made happy. The king conceiving a great deſire to ſee a phyſician of ſuch penetrating genius, ſent for him; and diſcovered him the moment he appeared, by one of the portraits which he had received from Sultan Mahmoud. But no menaces could induce the king of Jorjan to deliver him up. He loaded him, on the contrary, with riches

and honours; and protected him, as long as he chuſed to continue at his court, againſt the all-powerful reſentment of that formidable monarch.

AMONGST the moſt magnificent of the royal patrons of Perſian literature were three contemporary princes, who reigned towards the end of the eleventh century; and were remarkable not only for their abilities and liberality, but for the ſingular and uninterrupted harmony which diſtinguiſhed their correſpondence. Theſe were Malekſhah Jelaleddin, king of Perſia; Keder ben Ibrahim, Sultan of the Gheznevides; and Keder Khan, the Khakan, or king of Turqueſtan, beyond the Gihon. The Khakan was uncommonly ſplendid: when he appeared abroad he was preceded by 700 horſemen with ſilver battle-axes, and was followed by an equal number bearing maces of gold. He ſupported, with moſt magnificent appointments, a literary academy in his palace, conſiſting of a hundred men of the higheſt reputation in the Eaſt: Amak, called alſo Abou'l'najib Al Bokhari, who was the *Uſtadu'l'ſhoara*, or chief of the Poets, excluſive of a great penſion, having, amongſt other articles of Eaſtern luxury, a vaſt number of male and female ſlaves; with thirty horſes of ſtate richly capa-

riſoned, and a retinue in proportion, which attended him wherever he went. The Khakan uſed often to preſide at their exerciſes of genius: on which occaſions, by the ſide of his throne were always placed four large baſons filled with gold and ſilver; which he diſtributed with a liberal hand, to thoſe who principally excelled. [a]

But the invaſions of Jengiz Khan and Tamerlane, in the beginning of the thirteenth, and end of the fourteenth centuries, gave violent checks to all the arts of peace. The Khalifat and all its feudatory princes were overwhelmed: and altho' Tamerlane, in a variety of inſtances, was a liberal patron of learned men; that was but a feeble compenſation for the general deſolation which he ſpread around; and the deſtruction of a number of magnificent patrons of the arts, who ſunk under the torrent of his irreſiſtible power.—The Turks ſoon after ſtretched their government, unfavourable to liberty and ſcience, from Europe to the banks of the Tigris: whilſt, in Perſia, the bloody reigns of the deteſted houſe of Sefi concurred effectually in plunging thoſe noble countries into that melancholy barbariſm, from which Europe, during that period, had been gradually emerging. [b]

For near three hundred years, the literary fire of the Perſians and Arabians ſeems indeed to have been almoſt extinguiſhed; nothing hardly, during that time, which deſerves attention, being known, at leaſt, in Europe: yet enough exiſts, to give us a very high opinion of the genius of the Eaſt. In taſte they are undoubtedly inferior to the Greeks, to the Romans, and to the beſt writers of modern Europe; but, in invention, they are excelled, perhaps equalled by none. The Arabians are diſtinguiſhed by a conciſeneſs of diction, which borders ſometimes upon obſcurity. The Perſians affect, on the contrary, a rhetorical luxuriance; which, to a European, wears the air of unneceſſary redundance. If, to theſe leading diſtinctions, we add a peculiarity of imagery, of metaphor, of alluſion; derived from the difference of government, of manners, of temperament; and of ſuch natural objects as characteriſe Aſia from Europe; we ſhall ſee, at one view, the great points of variation between the writers of the Eaſt and Weſt. Amongſt the Oriental hiſtorians, philoſophers, rhetoricians, and poets, many will be found, who would do honour to any age or people: whilſt their romances, their tales, and their fables, ſtand

upon a ground, which Europeans, in ſome points, have hardly yet found powers to reach.*

In various other lights, the uſefulneſs of the Perſian and Arabic languages will appear evident, on the ſlighteſt examination. The high political conſequence of the Perſian, in the affairs of India, is too obvious and too generally acknowledged to require arguments to enforce it; whilſt the Arabic, totally neglected, or ſtudied with inattention, has never been viewed, in Hindoſtan, by Europeans, in the important light it ſeems to merit. Yet the intercourſe which the Arabians have maintained with that country, is ancient and intimate. For many centuries, previous to the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, they were the chief traders in the Eaſt; and the commodities of India flowed into Europe, by the way of Egypt and Syria, almoſt ſolely through their hands. Their commercial ſettlements ſkirted the Indian coaſts: their tranſactions with the Gentoos were extenſive; and their language found its way where even their arms and their religion had made no impreſſion. The tranſactions, ſometimes amicable, but oftener hoſtile, in which the Hindoo Rajahs were engaged with the Mohammedan princes, long before the acceſſion of the houſe of Timur, opened likewiſe num-

berleſs channels for the introduction and incorporation of this great Mohammedan language; and gave it, in time, ſuch an univerſal currency in Hindoſtan, that not only two thirds of the Perſian, now in general uſe there, is pure Arabic; but a half perhaps of the Hindoſtan or Moors is Arabic and Perſian: in the Malay, they alſo both abound; and they appear even to have found a place in the vulgar *Nagree* and *Bengal*. But that which has chiefly aſtoniſhed me, is to find Arabic technically uſed, even in the *Code of Gentoo Laws*. If ſuch words are actually in the original *Shanſcrit*, it is a circumſtance which will require a very nice explanation: for, upon general principles, we muſt, on that ground, queſtion the antiquity of thoſe laws; having at preſent no foundation to believe, that the Arabic was introduced into Hindoſtan earlier than the Mohammedan invaſion A. D. 708, during the Khalifat of the firſt Al Walid. But if they are not in the original Shanſcrit, and only occur in the Perſian tranſlation by the Pundits; there appears to be the ſame impropriety in their modernizing or tranſlating thoſe ancient law words, as there would have been, had Sir William Blackſtone given only the Engliſh of ſuch terms as *Certiorari* or *Fieri facias*, and omitted the original names of the writs.

CHAP. II.

Of Ancient Oriental History and Tradition.

SECT. I.

Eaſtern language and literature may throw great light on ancient hiſtory, mythology, and manners. Syſtematic writers on the actions of mankind always to be doubted. The Grecian hiſtory of Ancient Perſia queſtionable. The great object of hiſtory to improve ſociety. Improbability not intitled to our belief, altho' tranſmitted to us by celebrated writers. Uncertainty of hiſtory in general; and the propriety of impartial reſearch.

HAVING traced the progreſs of the Arabic and Perſian languages as far as is conſiſtent with reaſon, or conducive to utility; I ſhall now proceed to obſervations on other points, which will be chiefly comprehended under two heads: *Firſt*, Lights which Eaſtern language and literature may throw upon ancient hiſtory and mythology. *Se-*

condly, Cuſtoms apparently originating in Aſia, which, ſince the downfal of the Roman power, ſeem to have influenced the manners of modern Europe. In the inveſtigation of thoſe ſubjects, I am unavoidably led to queſtion the opinions of ſome of the moſt eminent men in the literary world; who, little acquainted with the languages of the Eaſt, and intangled in the labyrinths of ideal ſyſtem, have built upon a baſis of no ſolidity, and extended error inſtead of diſcovering truth. Yet, whereever I venture, on any ground, to differ from exalted characters, I wiſh it may be underſtood, that I loſe nothing of that reſpect to which they are ſo juſtly intitled. It is the lot of humanity to err. We may venerate a Herodotus or a Newton, without enſlaving the mind by an acquieſcence in their failings: we may admire the nobleſt efforts of human wiſdom, without equally revering the unavoidable weakneſſes of human frailty.

SYSTEMATIC writers, upon the actions of mankind, however ingenious and learned, are ever to be read with caution. Man, in the aggregate, is too irregular to be reduced to invariable laws. A ſlave to paſſion and to momentary views, the weakeſt ſprings have found force ſufficient to ſhake the mightieſt ſtates; and events of the deepeſt conſequence

have originated from cauſes which ſhunned all public view. But a framer of ſyſtems thinks not like other men: he forms nations, and he annihilates them: he eſtabliſhes empires, and he deſtroys them; he aſſigns reaſons for each fortuitous event; and defines, with mathematical preciſion, the motives of action, which were grounded only on caprice, accident, or error. As his fabrick is not founded in nature, he is perplexed by contradictions, which he finds irreconcileable with the principles of truth. Impelled, however, by a warm imagination, he bends every fact to his ſyſtem, ſince he cannot rear his ſyſtem upon facts. He deſcends from the character of judge: he becomes counſel for a party; and, like the ancient tyrant, tortures every circumſtance to adapt it to his iron bed: where defective, he ſtretches it on the rack; and lops the ſuperfluities, where it threatens to prove too much. Does a dynaſty of kings ſtand in the way of a favourite hypotheſis, he cuts them off at once: is there an unlucky chaſm in the annals of a people, he makes a freſh creation: does an era gravel his new poſitions, he removes it back a thouſand years; and mangles the chronology of half the world, to ſupport a ſyſtem of heterogeneous figments. Yet writers of ability will make even error

reſpectable. Though their ſyſtems are viſionary, they are ingenious and informing. The reſearches after the Philoſopher's ſtone, and Judicial Aſtrology, which engaged the learning and attention of the middle ages, were wild in themſelves; as the objects were beyond the powers of man: yet Chymiſtry, Aſtronomy, and Navigation, owe much of their improvement to caſual diſcoveries in thoſe chimerical purſuits.[b]

The information we have hitherto received of the Ancient Hiſtory, Mythology, and Manners of Eaſtern nations, has been almoſt entirely derived through the medium of the Grecian writers; whoſe elegance of taſte, harmony of language, and fine arrangement of ideas, have captivated the imagination, miſled the judgment, and ſtamped with the dignified title of hiſtory, the amuſing excurſions of fanciful romance. Too proud to conſider ſurrounding nations, (if the Egyptians may be excepted) in any light but that of Barbarians; they deſpiſed their records, they altered their language, and framed too often their details, more to the prejudices of their fellow citizens, than to the ſtandard of truth or probability. We have names of Perſian kings, which a Perſian could not pronounce; we have facts related they apparently never

knew; and we have cuſtoms aſcribed to them, which contradict every diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of an Eaſtern people. The ſtory of Lyſimachus and one Greek hiſtorian, may indeed, with juſtice, be applied to many others. This prince, in the partition of Alexander's empire, became King of Thrace: he had been one of the moſt active of that conqueror's commanders; and was preſent at every event which deſerved the attention of hiſtory. A Grecian had written an account of the Perſian conqueſt; and he wiſhed to read it before the king. The monarch liſtened with equal attention and wonder: "All "this is very fine," ſays he, when the hiſtorian had finiſhed, "but where was I when "thoſe things were performed?"

I MEAN not to aſſert that the hiſtorians of the Eaſt have not their failings as well as thoſe of the Weſt; but their facts, though clothed often in a luxuriance of diction, diſplay little of that national vanity, ſo conſpicuous in the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the Grecian writers, which leads to the invention and the embelliſhment of fiction. Whence they had their materials it is difficult to determine; but even the rudeſt of people, where they contradict not probability, are entitled to reſpect in the annals of their own country. In a few

circumſtances they coincide with the writers of Greece and Rome; this ſtrengthens hiſtory: there are many upon which they are ſilent; this naturally leads to doubt and enquiry: there are numbers in which the oppoſition is pointed: whom are we to believe? the natives, or the native enemies of a country? thoſe who might have had acceſs to genuine records, or thoſe who probably never could?

IT may undoubtedly be objected to the principal hiſtorians of Perſia, now known in Europe, that they are all ſubſequent to the Mohammedan era: that Perſian literature was almoſt entirely annihilated in the conſequences of the Arabian conqueſt: that the Grecians wrote nearer to the events which they have recorded; and therefore, though foreigners, have a ſuperior claim to our credence than the natives of after-ages, who muſt have compiled their annals under many circumſtances of diſcouraging obſcurity. Theſe conſiderations are undoubtedly of weight; and, in all relations where conſiſtency is not hurt, we ſhould certainly allow them every degree of force. It is error alone we ſhould wiſh to reprobate: it is the path of truth we ſhould wiſh to clear.

THE chief object of Hiſtory is to improve

the great ſyſtem of ſocial life, by inſtructing mankind in the experience of former ages. To anſwer this important end, it is by no means neceſſary that every fact we read ſhould be ſtrictly true in all its parts. The Cyropædia of Xenophon, or the Telemaque of Fenelon, may convey leſſons, on a variety of points, with an efficacy not inferior to the moſt unqueſtioned truths. Where no probability is therefore deſtroyed; no chronology obviouſly injured; no ſuperior authority evidently oppoſed: where the great lines are conſiſtent with the ſituation of the principal agents; and the conſequences ariſe naturally from the events: ſuch facts are entitled to our belief: and to queſtion them muſt only diſplay a very unneceſſary, and a very unprofitable ſcepticiſm. But, where the annals of one nation are tortured into co-incidence with the imaginary eras of another; where mighty details are given, the traces of which cannot be diſcovered in the countries moſt eminently intereſted; where ſober truth and rational evidence are ſacrificed to vanity, fiction, or exaggeration; ſuch narrations ſhould acquire no authority, becauſe tranſmitted by the moſt celebrated of the ancient writers, and copied by compilers of modern times. We ſhould look upon them as fables of mere

amuſement; and proportion our admiration to their ſecondary merits alone; elegance of taſte, ingenuity of invention, and excellence of ſtile.'

WHEN we reflect on the uncertainty of almoſt every thing merely human: when we obſerve the obſcurity with which all hiſtory is involved in its beginnings: when we conſider how few writers record the facts of their own obſervation; and the ſuſpicious mediums thro' which they derive their knowledge: when we view the partiality of mankind for their country, their party, their opinions; with the neceſſity, which even the moſt enlightened, and the moſt unbiaſſed minds, have found of ſwimming with the ſtream of popular prejudice; we muſt candidly confeſs, that no particular claſs of hiſtorians have any ſolid claim to poſſeſs themſelves exclufively of our belief; in oppoſition to others, whoſe narratives, tho' rational, are repugnant to thoſe which we have been accuſtomed to receive. *Audi alteram partem* is an old and an excellent maxim; and impartiality ought ever to impreſs it on our minds, where opportunity furniſhes the means. With channels of information, to which the ancients were completely ſtrangers, how difficult is it even now to arrive at the true hiſtory of the ſimpleſt fact? and how wide of all reſemblance does not the ſame

tale appear, as told by the people under the oppoſite impreſſions of vanity, prejudice, or intereſt? How juſtly may we therefore ſuſpect the hiſtorians of every darker age, whoſe materials were defective, and whoſe imaginations were ſtrong: who lived at periods when impoſition was gainful, and credulity unbounded: where the neceſſary meaſures to ſecure the adoration of the Million to a Calf, a Cat, or a Beetle, furniſhed Prieſts (the great ſources of Egyptian and other ancient annals), with ſuch powerful incentives to the invention of the wildeſt and the moſt improbable of fictions.

Take many points of modern hiſtory, and all the information we receive is merely what each nation or party has written relative to public affairs: whilſt the events themſelves are ſtill ſurrounded with obſcurity and doubt. Read the Proteſtant Writers of France, and every circumſtance of horror marks the Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew's day: but turn to the Catholic page, and it becomes a neceſſary, a prudent, and a lawful act; the mere preventive of a ſimilar tragedy, meditated by the Admiral de Chatillon againſt the adherents of the Houſe of Guiſe. Take two foreign writers of our Engliſh hiſtory, over whom country and party prejudices ought to have had no influence; and how different is the

colouring of the ſame tale? With *Rapin*, the Caligulas and the Neros fall ſhort of the inhuman James, on the ſuppreſſion of Monmouth's inſurrection: whilſt the mild, the juſt, the forgiving prince is the portrait of the *Pere d'Orleans*. Contraſt the Memoires de Sully with the Libels of the League againſt Henry IV. or the Siecle de Louis Quatorze with the Invectives of the Proteſtant Refugees; and the Glorious Monarch, or the Savage Tyrant appear before you in ſucceſſive review. To enlarge upon the various opinions of our own writers, on the great events of Engliſh hiſtory, would be endleſs and unneceſſary: the circumſtances I have mentioned being merely intended to inculcate this ſimple poſition, That few facts, either of ancient or modern times, are ſo fully authenticated as to render farther enquiry improper. [h]

THE Romans have read us many a leſſon on Punic faith: had we Punic writers, Mercileſs Jealouſy, and Perfidious Ambition, might, and perhaps with juſtice, have been retorted on the Romans. The Grecians have told us many a ſurpriſing tale of Eaſtern nations; it cannot be improperto liſten to what thoſe nations ſay. [i]

SECT. II.

A ſhort view of the early periods of Perſian hiſtory. Like thoſe of other nations diſfigured by the marvellous; yet not entirely to be rejected. Diſagreement between the Grecian and Aſiatic hiſtory of Perſia. Invaſion of Xerxes improbable. Outlines of the Macedonian conqueſt from Perſian hiſtorians.

THE reigning families of Perſia, previous to the Arabian conqueſt, are comprehended, by their hiſtorians, under four dynaſties; the *Piſhdadians*, the *Kaianians*, the *Aſhkanians*, and the *Saſſanians*. The Perſians, like other people, have aſſumed the privilege of romancing on the early periods of ſociety. The firſt dynaſty is, in conſequence, embarraſſed by fabling. Their moſt ancient princes are chiefly celebrated for their victories over the Demons or Genii, called *Dives*; and ſome have reigns aſſigned to them of eight hundred, or a thouſand years. Amidſt ſuch fictions, however, there is apparently ſome truth. Thoſe monarchs probably did reign; though poetic fancy may have aſcribed to them ages

and adventures which the laws of nature reject. We diſpute not the exiſtence of our Engliſh Arthur, though we believe not in the Giants and Magic of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*: and Charlemagne was undoubtedly a great prince, though we ſubſcribe not to the wonderful adventures of *Turpin's Twelve Peers*. The Dives may have been ſavage neighbours, conquered by the Piſhdadian kings; and magnified by tradition as Beings of a ſupernatural ſpecies. The Gods, the Titans, and the Heroes of the Greeks; the Giants, the Savages, and the Monſters of Gothic romance, ſeem all to have originated from ſimilar principles: from that wild irregularity of fancy, and that admiration of the marvellous, which, in various degrees, runs thro' the legends of every darker period of the hiſtory of mankind. The longevity, at the ſame time, aſcribed to this race of monarchs, may either have been founded on ſome imperfect antediluvian idea; or may be reſolved, by ſuppoſing *families* inſtead of *individuals*: and that the *Caiumaras*, the *Ghemſhids*, and the *Feriduns* of the Eaſt, were merely ſucceſſions of princes, bearing one common ſurname; like the *Pharaohs*, the *Ptolemies*, or the *Cæſars* of the Weſt.

With the ſecond dynaſty, a more probable ſyſtem of hiſtory ſeems to commence: yet

ſtill the era of *Kaicobad*, the founder of this houſe, cannot be preciſely fixed. Though hiſtorians differ, however, with regard to the chronology of this prince; in one point, which may lead us to aſcertain it with tolerable accuracy, they appear, in general, to be unanimous. Darab the Younger, dethroned by Alexander, is called the ninth ſovereign of this line. He was aſſaſſinated about 300 years B. C. If thirty years are allowed therefore as the medium of each reign, or 270 for the nine kings, *Kaicobad*'s ſovereignty may poſſibly have commenced about 600 years before our era; which will comprehend the whole of that period of Perſian hiſtory for which we are indebted to the Greeks. Sir Iſaac Newton, it may be objected, with other chronologiſts, have allowed but twenty years to a reign, and made that the univerſal ſtandard for all nations: but, with ſubmiſſion to thoſe learned men, nothing carries with it a ſtronger tendency to unhinge all chronology than ſuch an unmodified ſyſtem. For if no collateral circumſtances of ſituation, manners, and government, are taken into the ſcale, much confuſion muſt apparently ariſe. From Zeno till the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, the Emperors of Greece reigned hardly fifteen years; and the Khalifs, from the death of

Mohammed till the ſacking of Baghdad by the Moguls, little more than ten years each. But, in thoſe and other countries, which have been remarked for a quick ſucceſſion of princes, revolutions, and aſſaſſinations, it will always be obſerved, have ever diſturbed the courſe of nature: whilſt, in regular governments, the medium of reigns has been often lengthened to periods nearly approaching to what is above propoſed. From the murder of Henry IV. till the death of Louis XV. only three princes have filled the throne of France; making about fifty-five years to a reign: whilſt, in the diſtracted ſtate of that country, previous to Louis XIII. five kings ſcarcely completed twelve years each.—As the Perſian hiſtorians mention therefore no aſſaſſinations, nor uncommon convulſions of government; and as the adminiſtration of public affairs appears in general to have been fortunate and ſteady; thirty years, in thoſe ages, when at the ſame time a greater ſimplicity of life, perhaps, prevailed, ſeems to be a calculation by no means ſtretched beyond the probable line of nature. [b]

The *Kaianian* dynaſty being ſuppoſed then to commence nearly about 600 years before the birth of our Lord, this brings us to the reign of that king of the Medo Perſians, called by the Greeks *Cyaxares*; which, accord-

ing to Sir Iſaac Newton's conjecture, is ſuppoſed to have begun in the year of Nabonaſſar 137 (about 610 before Chriſt) From this period till the Macedonian conqueſt, we have therefore the hiſtory of the Perſians, as given us by the Greeks; and the hiſtory of the Perſians, as written by themſelves. Between thoſe claſſes of writers, we might naturally expect ſome difference of facts; but we ſhould as naturally look for a few great lines, which might mark ſome ſimilarity of ſtory: yet, from every reſearch which I have had an opportunity to make, there ſeems to be nearly as much reſemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as between the European and Aſiatic relations of the ſame empire. The names and numbers of their kings have no analogy; and in regard to the moſt ſplendid facts of the Greek hiſtorians the Perſians are entirely ſilent. We have no mention of the *Great Cyrus*, nor of any *king of Perſia*, who, in the events of his reign, can apparently be forced into a ſimilitude. We have no *Cræſus*, king of Lydia; not a ſyllable of *Cambyſes* or of his frantic expedition againſt the Ethiopians. *Smerdis Magus*, and the ſucceſſion of *Darius*, the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, by the neighing of his horſe, are to the *Perſians* circumſtances equally unknown as the numerous aſſaſſina-

tions recorded by the *Greeks*. Not a veſtige is, at the ſame time, to be diſcovered of the famous battles of *Marathon*, *Thermopylæ*, *Salamis*, *Platea*, or *Mycale*; nor of that prodigious force which Xerxes led out of the Perſian empire to overwhelm the ſtates of Greece. Minutely attentive as the Perſian hiſtorians are to their numerous wars with the kings of Turan or Scythia; and recording, with the ſame impartiality, whatever might tarniſh as well as aggrandize the reputation of their country; we can, with little pretence to reaſon, ſuppoſe, that they ſhould have been ſilent on events of ſuch magnitude; had any record remained of their exiſtence, or the fainteſt tradition commemorated their conſequences. Xerxes, according to Herodotus, croſſed the Helleſpont, attended by no fewer than 5,283,220 ſouls, and eſcaped back alone in a fiſhing boat; the whole almoſt of this mighty hoſt periſhing by the ſword, by famine, or by diſeaſe. The deſtruction of ſuch a number would have convulſed the whole of Aſia, had it been united under one empire: could it poſſibly have been unfelt in Perſia? Can any man who has made the leaſt obſervation, at the ſame time, on hiſtory, ſuppoſe, for a moment, that ſuch myriads could by any means have been maintained in one

collected body; even in the preſent times, when the art of war, in that particular department, has arrived at a degree of perfection unknown in thoſe ruder ages. The greateſt armies, of which we have any rational information, are thoſe of Jengiz Khan and Tamerlane, the moſt deſpotic and the moſt powerful conquerors on record: yet theſe princes, in all their mighty atchievements, were ſeldom followed by 400,000 men. We are told, indeed, that the army of Tamerlane, on his return from the conqueſt of India; when he meditated the deſtruction of Bajazet, and of the ſultans of Egypt and Baghdad, amounted to near 800,000 men, previous to the battles of Damaſcus and Ancyra. Yet thoſe troops were diſperſed in different diviſions; they were beſieging many diſtant places at the ſame period of time; and were not, after all, a ſixth part of the reputed army of Xerxes: though Tamerlane poſſeſſed then an empire and an authority incomparably ſuperior to that of the Perſian monarchs in the higheſt zenith of their power; and was then marching againſt potentates of infinitely higher political conſequence than the Grecians, at the ſuppoſed period of this tremendous invaſion. But the ſtates of Greece appear, in fact, with regard

to the Perſians, to have been too far removed from that degree of importance which could hold them up as objects of ſuch high ambition or of ſuch mighty reſentment. Till the reign of Philip of Macedon, they are hardly mentioned by the Perſian writers, but as tributaries to the Perſian empire. Thoſe famous invaſions may poſſibly therefore have been ſimply the movements of the governors of Aſia Minor; to enforce a tribute, which the Perſians might often claim, and the Greeks might never pay. Marathon, Salamis, and other celebrated battles may indeed have been real events; but "Numerous as the ſands on the ſhore," is an idea which, in all times, has been annexed to defeated armies: and the Grecian writers, to dignify their country, may have turned the hyperbole into hiſtoric fact; and ſwelled the *Thouſands* of the *Perſian Satrap* into the *Millions* of the *Perſian King*.

Some of thoſe famed events, it is not impoſſible too, might have been the mere deſcents of pirates or private adventurers; either with the view to plunder, or to retaliate ſome ſimilar expedition of the Greeks; who appear very early to have been a race of free-booters extremely troubleſome to the ſurrounding coaſts. The Argonauts, if ſuch heroes ever did exiſt, are not entitled to a more reputable

appellation: and indeed the practice ſeems to have been too univerſal to carry with the Greeks the remoteſt imputation of diſhonour. If we look into Homer, Thucydides, Diodorus, and others, we ſhall diſcover piracy to have been conſidered as a profeſſion; but without connecting with it the leaſt opprobrious idea. Strangers are careleſsly aſked whether they are traders or pirates; and the diſcovery of either character does not ſeem to heighten or diminiſh that reſpect or degree of hoſpitality which the manners of the times had annexed to the rank of thoſe roving gueſts. "Are you merchants bound to any port (ſays "Neſtor at Pylos to Telemachus and Men-"tor), or are you pirates, who roam the ſeas, "without a deſtined place; and live by plun-"der and deſolation?" — In this honourable profeſſion of pirates there may have been many ſubjects of the Perſian empire. Greece, as well as other countries, may have been often the theatre of their rapine and devaſtation: whilſt their ſucceſs or diſcomfiture muſt have been events of too little moment to reach the ears or engage the attention of the Shahinſhah, or King of Kings, at the remote cities of Perſepolis and Balkh. Suppoſe, if ſuch an illuſtration may be allowed, an Engliſh pirate to have landed in former times on Madagaſ-

car; ſuppoſe him to have called himſelf *King of England*; and ſuppoſe, after putting that iſland into a dreadful alarm, he had been at length defeated. The Madagaſcar hiſtorians, if any they had, to raiſe the glory of their nation, might compoſe a pompous detail of their Marathons and Platæas: they might repulſe the Engliſh monarch at the head of any myriads the victors ſhould vauntingly give out, or tradition magnify: and this might undoubtedly gain credit in Madagaſcar and in the adjacent iſles; whilſt the ſplendid event, unfelt, and even unknown to the Britiſh nation, found not a ſingle line in their hiſtoric page.

THIS celebrated expedition, amongſt many Grecian narratives, equally ſuſpicious, I have particularly ſelected; as the uncommon greatneſs of the enterprize, had it borne the leaſt reſemblance to truth, muſt have been too well known in Perſia; and made too deep an impreſſion upon the minds of each ſucceſſive generation, ever to have been totally eradicated. I ſhall now proceed to trace the great lines of the only ſingle fact of conſequence, in which there appears even an irregular co-incidence; I mean the *Macedonian conqueſt*. The king who, according to Eaſtern writers, reigned in Perſia immediately before the *Darius*

Codomannus of the Greeks, is called *Dara* or *Darab*. The firſt is ſynonymous with *Shah*, and ſignifies, in Perſian, *A king*. The other, in the ſame language, implies *Poſſeſſed by or found on water*; which name, they ſay, he obtained from the following circumſtance. The kings of Perſia appear to have aſſumed the privilege of marrying whom they pleaſed; and ſometimes made choice even of their own daughters. The Greek writers confirm the prevalence of this cuſtom; and obſerve, in particular, that Artaxerxes Mnemon eſpouſed two of his daughters, whom he had ſucceſſively promiſed to Tiribazus, one of his Satraps. Bahaman, the ſixth king of the Kaianian dynaſty, had married his daughter Homai, whom he left pregnant at his death; diſinheriting his ſon Saſſan, in favour of this lady and her offspring. Homai was declared heireſs of the empire, if not delivered of a ſon; and regent, in that event, till he was of age to reign. But averſe even to the diſtant proſpect of reſigning ſovereign power, the queen ordered the birth of her ſon to be concealed; and ſent him privately to be expoſed in a caſket on the banks of the Gihon. The riſing of the waters ſoon ſwept him away, and threw him on a dyer's bleaching ground. The rich ſtuffs and valuable jewels, which

the poor man found in the caſket, convinced him that he was a child of elevated birth. He educated him however as his own ſon; and wiſhed him to follow his profeſſion: but the prince, unwilling to believe himſelf the ſon of a dyer, urged his reputed father ſo ſtrongly, that the good man diſcovered at length all he knew; and delivered to him all the jewels which he had carefully preſerved. Young Darab determined immediately on the profeſſion of arms; and ſet out for the army, which was then marching againſt the Greeks. He arrived on the eve of a battle; in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with ſuch heroiſm, that his fame reached the queen. The prince was ſent for: Homai was ſtruck with his preſence: ſhe diſcovered him by the jewels, and the old man's teſtimony; and reſigned the diadem to him, after having reigned with great reputation about thirty years. This Darab is repeſented as an accompliſhed prince, and a ſucceſsful warrior. Philip of Macedon, amongſt others, according to Khondemir, drew upon him his reſentment, by refuſing to acknowledge his authority. He marched againſt him; and forcing him to take refuge in a fortreſs, Philip ſued for peace; which was granted, on condition of giving his daughter in marriage to the Perſian king, and pay-

ing an annual tribute of a thouſand *Beizets*, or eggs of gold. The young queen did not pleaſe her royal conſort. Tho' pregnant, he returned her to her father's court; where ſhe was afterwards delivered of the famous Alexander, whom Philip educated *as his ſon*; and left him his kingdom, with the ſecret of his birth. Darab having, in the mean time, eſpouſed another lady, ſhe brought him Darab the Younger; who mounted the throne on the demiſe of his father. This prince is repreſented by the hiſtorians of the Eaſt in very different colours from the gentle and amiable Darius Codomannus. His cruelties and oppreſſions rendered him ſo deteſted in Perſia, that the great lords exhorted Alexander to aſſert his right to the empire. Encouraged by thoſe general diſcontents, he reſolved upon the attempt; and, as a leading ſtep, informed the ambaſſadors of Darab, when demanding the tribute of the golden eggs, "That the bird "who laid them had flown to the other "world." This refuſal, with the raillery which accompanied it, enraged the king of Perſia. He marched immediately, to reduce the Macedonian to obedience. The monarchs met: a bloody battle enſued: and Darab was worſted. He retired to his tent, to take ſome repoſe before renewing the engagement;

but was ſtabbed by two of his attendants, who fled immediately to the Grecian camp. Alexander, informed of the murder, haſtened to Darab's pavilion. He found him in the agonies of death: he threw himſelf on his knees, wept, and proteſted his ignorance of the treaſon. The dying prince believed him; named him his ſucceſſor; gave him his daughter Roſhana in marriage; requeſted him to revenge his aſſaſſination; to govern Perſia by Perſian nobles; and expired in his arms. Alexander, they add, chiefly by the counſels of Ariſtotle, whom they call his vizir, punctually fulfilled theſe laſt injunctions of the dying king: the great men of Perſia being appointed to the government of the provinces and dependent kingdoms; which they were permitted to hold on the feudal principles of homage, ſubſidies, and military ſervice, to the conqueror, as Paramount Sovereign of the empire.*

HERE is a detail which correſponds with the writers of Greece and Rome in nothing but the cataſtrophe: and yet, in the whole annals of Perſia there is not, perhaps, a ſingle paſſage which boaſts a more intimate agreement. A ſingular incongruity! How ſhall we reconcile it? And to whom muſt we lean? The Grecians are already in full poſ-

ſeſſion of our imaginations: we imbibe a reverence for them in our early years, which it is impoſſible ever to eradicate; and we are dragged with difficulty to give a candid review to accounts, which, though fully within the line of probability, contradict ideas which we have ſo long foſtered with care. Yet were relations, ſo widely diſtinct, equally new: were *China* and *Tartary* ſubſtituted for *Perſia* and *Greece:* were hiſtories of their wars preſented to our peruſal by the reſpective hiſtorians of thoſe people; and did we perceive nothing in the name, in the atchievements, or the chronology of the principal actors, which could poſſibly be forced into a conſiſtency, or perſuade us that we were reading the ſame events in which both countries were ſo importantly intereſted; what perplexity muſt accompany our opinion? Should we not naturally conclude, that both had related many fictions, and perhaps ſome truths? Should we not weigh the apparent authority of their materials; conſider who approached neareſt to national vanity, prejudice, and pride; and decide at length for thoſe writers, who, tho' liable to much miſtake, appeared not, in ſo high a degree, to have the ſame inducements to the commemoration of wilful error? This I mean, however, in reſpect to the general

idea: for, in many circumſtances of the above relation, I ſhould certainly incline to the Greeks: but more from a ſtrong collateral preſumptive evidence, than any ſuperior dependence upon their hiſtorians: I allude to Demoſthenes. Philip appears, from the orations of this great man, to have been too much engaged in the uniting or enſlaving of the Greeks not to have ſhunned, till that great object was accompliſhed, every circumſtance which might embroil him with Perſia. Whilſt, had he ever been defeated by that nation, and obliged, in conſequence, to ſubmit to tribute, it muſt have not only too much weakened that power, with which he at length ſubjected the ſtates of Greece, but furniſhed facts too important to have been omitted in the Philippics. [f]

SECT. III.

The Greek language cultivated in the Eaſt. All the ancient Perſian books not deſtroyed by the Arabians. Obſervations on Oriental Tradition, Pride of blood and Genealogy. Hiſtorians greatly patronized in the Eaſt. Aſiatic hiſtories numerous. The Greek hiſtorians neglected in the Eaſt. Probable reaſons for this neglect.

THERE is one circumſtance, amongſt many others, which, in the courſe of my reflections on the diſagreement of the Perſian and Greek hiſtorians, has ever ſtruck me with much force. The language of Greece was early cultivated in the Eaſt: the connexions of the Perſians and Arabians with the ſucceſſors of Alexander in Syria and Egypt, were long and intimate. Before the era of Mohammed, it was conſidered as a branch of polite, and even of mercantile education. Greek ſlaves were common in Arabia; the receipts and diſburſements of the treaſury of

the Khalifs were written in that tongue for ſeveral generations after the Prophet's death. The coins of the Khalifat were invariably ſtruck with Greek inſcriptions, till the reign of Abdomelic in 695: and the Perſian coins of the Aſhcanian kings, commonly called Parthians or Arſacidæ by Europeans, had alſo Greek inſcriptions, which were probably introduced by Alexander or his ſucceſſors. Many of the Mohammedan princes gave great encouragement to tranſlations from the Greek; particularly of the proſe writers. That the Grecian hiſtories muſt have conſequently been known, eſpecially to their learned ſubjects, cannot, I think, with reaſon, be called in queſtion. Shall we ſuppoſe then, that Oriental annaliſts would not have made great uſe of thoſe writers, had their narratives been in the leaſt degree conſonant to the hiſtories and traditions which the Perſians themſelves conſidered as authentic? That all Perſian books were not deſtroyed by the Arabians, is certain. Some, which concerned not the religion of the Magi, fell into the hands of thoſe who admired and preſerved them. The *Zefer namé*, a dialogue on government and morality between Nouſhirvan the Juſt, king of Perſia, and his vizir Bouzour, has been already mentioned. In the preface to a copy of Firdouſi's

Shah namé, we are informed, that a book of hiſtory was diſcovered, during the general havoc, by Saad, one of the Mohammedan generals, and carefully preſerved by him; as containing nothing repugnant to the tenets of the Alcoran: and M. D'Herbelot obſerves, that it was from a collection of Ancient Perſian Hiſtorians, in the old dialect, that Firdouſi drew materials for his immortal work. The kings and great men of the Eaſt have long rivalled one another in nothing more than in the excellence of their libraries. With incredible attention and expence, they ſtored them with every valuable manuſcript they could poſſibly procure; and whatever unrelenting ſeverity a vanquiſhed prince might, by Eaſtern cuſtom, experience from his more fortunate competitor, his books appear to have been ever an object of uncommon care.

EXCLUSIVE of ſuch Perſian authors as eſcaped the Arabian proſcription, with other records, of which our imperfect knowledge of their language, and ſlender intercourſe with their country, has hitherto deprived us of any poſitive intelligence; one ground of preſumptive information ought not to be wholly diſregarded; I mean Tradition. What are the relations of ancient Egypt? What are the early annals of Babylonia, of Greece, of Rome?

Except the ſacred writings, what, in a word, is every ſpecies of hiſtory a little way beyond 2000 years? Mere Tradition! and much of it of the moſt doubtful and improbable complexion: the Traditions of Pagan prieſts, whoſe importance reſted on the invention and propagation of error. If any dependence then is placed on thoſe Weſtern tales, in the abſence of more convincing evidence, candour ought to allow a proportionable degree of weight to thoſe of the Eaſt. In all countries where any difficulty, from whatever cauſe, has been found in the regiſtering of public events, Tradition has ever been obſerved to flouriſh with ſuperior ſtrength; and, through the medium of marvellous embelliſhment, preſents us often with the great lines of the atchievements of former times. Where the written memorials of a people are few, and where fewer ſtill can read them; he who rehearſes a rude poem, or a romantic tale, is looked up to with reſpect. Whatever exalts men above their peers, will ever be cultivated with care; and ſons will often endeavour to excel in what had raiſed their fathers to diſtinction. The prevalence of tradition, in the darker ages of Europe, is unqueſtioned. The Bards, the Scalds, and the Minſtrels, were careſſed by the fierceſt warriors of thoſe bar-

barian times. Their older compoſitions are generally conſidered as the real actions of ancient chiefs: fiction prevailed not ſo much till later ages: it was the offspring of refinement; and refinement led the way to the downfal of oral record. For when learning became more diffuſed; when feudal lords conſidered it as no diſgrace to ſign their names; when written language became diſſeminated thro' various orders, and many could read the hiſtory of thoſe deeds which formerly had been confined to the knowledge of a peculiar order of men; their ſongs wanted novelty; they were no longer ſought after; their profeſſion fell into contempt; and at length was gradually extinguiſhed. [b]

A VARIETY of circumſtances, peculiar to Aſia, juſtifies us in ſuppoſing, that tradition was more vigorous in the Eaſt than even in the Weſt. In Perſia, India, Tartary, Arabia, from the earlieſt of times, it has been one of their favourite amuſements to aſſemble, in the ſerene evenings, around their tents; on the platforms with which their houſes are in general roofed; or in large halls erected for the purpoſe; in order to amuſe themſelves in various exerciſes of genius; and frequently in traditional narratives of the moſt diſtinguiſhed actions of their remoter anceſtors. Oriental

imagery might often indeed embelliſh their tales; but, like the Gieruſalemme of Taſſo, or the Luſiade of Camoens, the embroidery of the imagination would not entirely conceal the ground-work of truth. Much rational information will therefore be diſcovered, not only in their more ſerious traditions, but alſo amidſt the amuſing wildneſs of their romantic fables. Even in the Arabian Nights Entertainments, and other Eaſtern tales, though we may find no neceſſity to believe in Aladdin's lamp, in the Genie Danhaſh, or the Fairy Peri banou; we ſhall, nevertheleſs, diſcover a truer picture of Eaſtern manners and beliefs, than in all the Grecian writers; or in hundreds of other books, more generally reſorted to as authorities. The havoc even made amongſt the Perſian records, with the oppreſſion under which they groaned during the three firſt centuries of Arabian ſubjection, might have united more intimately their men of knowledge; rendered their meetings more frequent, and their traditions more intereſting; from an apprehenſion that they would drop into oblivion, if not ſtrongly and repeatedly impreſſed upon the memories of the riſing generation. That many events may have been in this manner preſerved in rude poems and legendary tales, like the Runic fragments of

the North, the Romanzes of Spain, or the Heroic Ballads of our own country, ſeems to be highly probable; as well as that ſuch materials may have originally ſuggeſted to Firdouſi many of the adventures in his *Shah namé:* which, like Homer, when ſtript of the machinery of ſupernatural beings, is ſuppoſed to contain much true hiſtory, and a moſt undoubted picture of the ſuperſtition and manners of the times. Profeſſed ſtory-tellers, it may alſo be obſerved, are of early date in the Eaſt. Even at this day, men of rank have generally one or more, male or female, amongſt their attendants, who amuſe them and their women, when melancholy, vexed, or indiſpoſed; and they are generally employed to lull them aſleep. Many of their tales are highly amuſing, eſpecially thoſe of Perſian origin, or ſuch as have been written on their model. They were even thought ſo dangerous by Mohammed, that he expreſsly prohibited them in the Alcoran. The following is given as the reaſon. An Arabian merchant, called Naſſer ben Hareth, having reſided long in Perſia, returned to his own country whilſt the prophet was publiſhing his Alcoran. Naſſer having, perhaps, paid conſtant attendance at the meetings above alluded to, had treaſured up a number of ſtories relative to the famous Aſfendiar,

Roſtam, and other ancient heroes of Perſia. Theſe he related to his countrymen: they thought them excellent: the legends of the Alcoran were even neglected; and they plainly told Mohammed, when rehearſing ſome verſes he pretended to have juſt received from heaven, that the Perſian tales were far ſuperior to his. This alarmed him: and he immediately produced part of a chapter, as ſent by the Angel Gabriel, declaring them to be impious and pernicious fables, hateful to God and to his prophet: a cenſure which inſtantly and long checked their currency with all true believers in the new religion. [c]

ANOTHER circumſtance, which muſt have greatly contributed to the preſervation of written and traditional hiſtory in the Eaſt, is *Pride of Blood*; upon which their great men value themſelves far beyond the proudeſt European grandee. Genealogy has conſequently long been cultivated with ſingular attention; and the following, amongſt other reaſons, may be aſſigned for it. The deſultory form of government, which has in general prevailed in Aſia, has ſeldom left any ſecurity but the ſword for the poſſeſſion of power. Reverſes of fortune have, in conſequence, been frequent and ſudden; and it has been no uncommon object to behold a man riſing to

ſovereignty, whoſe father had been in the meaneſt condition of mankind. Yet this abject creature might poſſibly have been deſcended from ſome ancient dynaſty of kings, whom a ſimilar revolution had driven from their throne. The moſt powerful and moſt favoured nobles would naturally, at the ſame time, ſhare the fate of their prince. Some obſcure corner or diſtant country might give them refuge; where a regard for perſonal ſafety, and the proſpect of a new revolution, would induce them to conceal, under a mean diſguiſe, the royalty or nobleneſs of their origin. This gave an extenſive range to claims of ſuperior Birth; and whether real or imaginary, they were conſidered as points of too much conſequence to be neglected by a new monarch, a ſucceſsful general, or a riſing ſtateſman. Every ſpecies of evidence was therefore anxiouſly ſought for; and the ſkilful in genealogy were encouraged with a liberality that had nothing European in it. Innumerable proofs might be brought: I ſhall mention a few.

ARDESHIR, ſurnamed Babegan, who (A. D. 202.) wreſted the ſceptre from Ardeban, the laſt king of the Aſhkanian dynaſty, was the ſon of a ſhepherd, who kept the ſheep of one Babeg, and married his daughter. No ſooner however was he fixed upon the throne,

than, with the aſſiſtance of genealogiſts, he proved his deſcent from Saſſan, the diſinherited ſon of Bahaman.—Saman, the founder of the dynaſty of the Samanides, who reigned in Tranſoxania from the year 873 to 997, was the ſon of a camel-driver; and for ſome time followed the ſame profeſſion: but his poſterity brought their genealogy from Behram Joubin, (deſcended from a family that had reigned at Rei) who uſurped, for ſome time, the throne of Perſia towards the end of the ſixth century.—Abou Mohammed Obeidallah, the firſt of the Fatemite dynaſty in Africa, (who afterwards conquered Egypt, where they reigned as Khalifs) had been a lockſmith at Emeſſa in Syria. But this trade he abandoned, and ſet up for a prophet; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that he ſoon, by the help of his followers, raiſed himſelf to ſovereign power: and pretended to be deſcended from the Khalif Ali and Fatemah, Mohammed's daughter. The Khalifs of Baghdad, part of whoſe dominions he had uſurped, publiſhed ſeveral manifeſtos againſt him and his ſucceſſors; in which the fallacy of their pretenſions were expoſed. But they ſtill aſſerted their claim; and, upon this ground, ſupported their right to the Khalifat, as the only true Imams, or heads of the Mohammedan religion.—Buiah, the

father of Amaduddowla, the firſt Perſian monarch of the Deylemite race, was a fiſherman; but his ſon, when he aſſumed the diadem, (A. D. 932.) traced the family to Behram Gur, who reigned in the middle of the fourth century.—Seljuk, the founder of the Seljukian dynaſty of Turks, claimed kindred to Afraſiab, an ancient king of Turan or Scythia, who makes a conſpicuous figure in the early period of Perſian hiſtory.—One of the firſt cares of Tamerlane was to aſcertain his relationſhip to Jengiz Khan: farther it was unneceſſary to go; for that conqueror, in the meridian of his greatneſs, had carried up a regular pedigree to Turk, the ſon of Japhet.—Iſmael Sefi, the firſt king of the late reigning family of Perſia, who, after defeating the princes of the White Ram, mounted the throne about the year 1502, traced alſo his genealogy to Ali and Fatemah.—It muſt be unneceſſary to multiply examples: inferior men were equally ambitious of high deſcent: whilſt it may not be unworthy of remark, that the whole idea appears to have originated more from faſhion or a natural impulſe of the mind, than any conſideration of ſtate policy: for we by no means find that the people of Aſia have ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves for attachment to royal blood; having ſubmitted

in general with equal facility to ſovereign power, whether adminiſtred by the ſon of a prince or the ſon of a peaſant. [e]

SUCH having been the ruling paſſion in the Eaſt for illuſtrious deſcent, it is hardly neceſſary to obſerve, that Genealogy is a ſtudy ſo intimately connected with Hiſtorical knowledge, that it is impoſſible to arrive at any proficiency in the one, without being minutely verſed in the other: but particularly on the preſent ground; where appeals to the eras and actions of diſtinguiſhed men, through whom it would be neceſſary to connect the chain of evidence, muſt have required a very critical acquaintance with chronology and public facts: to avoid obvious contradictions, and give an air of plauſible accuracy to pedigrees, which, in many caſes, muſt have been more ſpecious than ſolid. [f]

THE ſame elevation of ſentiment, we may alſo obſerve, which inſpired thoſe high ideas of ſuperior birth, led naturally to a wiſh for future fame. To add to the glory of a family line was a favourite object. Hiſtorians and poets were, of conſequence, often in the train of a ſucceſsful conqueror. They were witneſſes of the events they were to deliver down to future times; and they were neither expected to exaggerate or invent. The riches

and honours conferred therefore on men of genius, has nothing ſimilar in our weſtern world: whilſt the freedom of their ſtrictures, and the manlineſs of their moral leſſons, will hardly be conceived by thoſe who have been accuſtomed to annex to Eaſtern minds the feelings alone of ſervility and terror. We have, in conſequence, particular hiſtories, not only of almoſt every Eaſtern Dynaſty, and of every diſtinguiſhed prince, but of the principal countries and cities of Aſia; and moſt of them written with ſuch an apparent adherence to truth and impartiality, that they are almoſt conſtantly preferred to European writers, by our modern hiſtorians of the Cruzades, and other Eaſtern events of the middle ages.

THE royal and noble authors of Aſia are, at the ſame time, numberleſs: a catalogue alone would fill a volume. I ſhall here only take notice of the Vizir *Nezam ul mulk*; as a ſmall manuſcript of that great man's will furniſh me with ſeveral facts relative to Eaſtern manners. Nezam roſe from a private ſtation in the eleventh century, to be Vizir to the Sultan Alp Arſlan and his ſon Malek-ſhah Jelaleddin: which high office he held till near ninety years of age; when he was ſtabbed by a Bataniſt, one of the ſubjects of the Old Man of the Mountain; whilſt he

was reading a petition which the aſſaſſin had preſented. This Vizir was one of the moſt extraordinary men of any age or country. He was a complete ſtateſman and a conſummate general. He was learned: and a moſt munificent patron of learning. He founded and endowed many ſeminaries of ſcience, but particularly a noble college at Baghdad. His palace was ever open to men of genius; many of whom enjoyed great penſions from his private purſe. They looked upon themſelves as his ſubjects and children; and uſually attended their benefactor, on great ſolemnities, from every quarter of the empire. [h]

FROM the foregoing obſervations, which might be ſwelled by many authorities, I apprehend it will appear ſufficiently evident, that the Perſians and other Aſiatics have been remarkably attentive to the annals of their country: that their materials for ancient hiſtory are upon a footing of reſpect not inferior to thoſe of more Weſtern nations: that their traditions are upon a ground as ſubſtantial as thoſe of the Greeks, the Egyptians, and other people of high antiquity: and that the ambition of royal and noble deſcent, more conſpicuous in Aſia than even in the more Weſtern regions, muſt have been productive of much

reſearch, and opened uncommon channels for genealogical and hiſtorical inveſtigation. [1]

WHEN we ſtrengthen this chain of facts and probabilities, by conſidering how high in favour phyſicians and other learned Greeks were at the courts of almoſt every Mohammedan prince; when we conſider the number of merchants and other travellers in perpetual motion between the Eaſt and Weſt; when we conſider the frequent embaſſies; the alliances by marriage; the familiarity of converſation which appears to have been ſupported with an eaſe wherein interpreters had evidently no concern: and when we add to the whole, the ſingular attachment of the princes of the Eaſt to almoſt every ſpecies of learning, whilſt Conſtantinople was the theatre of every barbarity that could degrade human nature: the preſumption is much ſtronger, that the Aſiatics ſpoke Greek, than that the Grecians ſpoke Arabic or Perſian. As every ground of reaſon ſeems to lead us therefore to conclude, that the Greek tongue was, for many centuries, known in the Eaſt, nearly as well perhaps as it is now in Europe; we muſt extinguiſh all curioſity in man, and contradict every characteriſtic diſpoſition of human nature, if we ſuppoſe that the Grecian accounts of Ancient Aſia ſhould have remained, for ſo

many ages, wholly unknown to the men of erudition, who wrote: or to the men of rank, who patronized them. Hiſtory is one of the firſt objects which engages the attention, when dipping into a foreign tongue. Sovereigns and miniſters of ſtate muſt ever, above all men, be intereſted in knowing what ſtrangers ſay relative to their own or neighbouring kingdoms. The Khalif *Almamoun*, in particular, was a prince of extenſive erudition, and unbounded curioſity. He could not well be indifferent with regard to what the ancients might ſay relative to Babylonia, his royal reſidence and ſeat of government. He had ordered, without reſtriction, a general collection of Greek authors to be made for the purpoſe of tranſlation; and it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that Hiſtorians could be excepted. They muſt have been ſubmitted, amongſt the reſt, to the review of the learned: their ſubject would naturally be reported to the Khalif: and if not tranſlated, it could apparently ariſe only from the conſideration, that their hiſtory of thoſe countries ſeemed merely the Tale of a Tub ſeriouſly told; and by no means agreeable to the belief either of the aborigines of the country, or of the ingenious men of all nations, who, from every quarter of the empire, flocked to Baghdad, as the centre of magnificence and ſcience. When

we reflect then, that the Mohammedan writers have paid no regard to the Grecian hiſtories: that they have given us facts of a very different complexion: that no hiſtorian will ever preſume to publiſh annals of his own country, totally diſſimilar to the great lines of anceſtorial atchievement, which muſt ever remain ſtrongly impreſſed upon the minds of a people; and that thoſe hiſtories of Perſia are conſidered as genuine by the Aſiatics in general: no obſervation on the manners of mankind can juſtify a total diſregard to them; though diſſonant to the relations which we have hitherto been accuſtomed to receive. Modern compilers of Ancient Hiſtory may wiſh indeed to conceal their ignorance of the languages and literature of the Eaſt under one general unſupported aſſertion, That they are wild, unintereſting, and obſcure; but ſuch a mode of indiſcriminate cenſure can tend only to perpetuate error. Truth ought to be ſearched for wherever it can be found; and a well authenticated fact, if told by a Perſian, an Arab, or a Chineſe, ſhould remove an improbability, though adorned with all the eloquence of Greece or Rome. [k]

It will not be conceived, however, that I wiſh any ancient ſtory exploded but upon grounds of obvious propriety. A free and

candid inveſtigation is all that is propoſed. Even the moſt impoſſible and moſt abſurd of the Grecian and Roman fables may keep their ground, till more rational and well ſupported facts appear to fill their room. Any thing is better than a vacuum. Geographers of unknown regions, according to the poet, place in their maps "Elephants inſtead of towns:" and there can be no harm in allowing the Elephantine legends of Old Greece ſtill to amuſe our leiſure hours: but if a town is at length diſcovered, the Elephant ſhould ſurely change his ſtation. *Semiramis*, the *Argonauts*, *Seſoſtris*, and half the marvellous tales of early times, are all Elephants: but as they would leave a mighty blank in thoſe high ages of fable, they may ſtill continue to fill their reſpective niches; like Bacchus, and Venus, and Hercules, and Ceres. But I cannot help thinking, that it is refining rather too much upon the credulity of man, to fix, like the great Newton, the preciſe epochas of thoſe Pagan Gods and Heroes: introducing even eclipſes, and other aſtronomical obſervations; to demonſtrate the eras and adventures of beings, whoſe exiſtence ſtands upon a ground by no means more ſubſtantial than the Garagantua of Rablais, or the Brobdiggnaggs of Lemuel Gulliver. "I do not pretend, ſays

"Sir Iſaac, (in the eighth page of his Chro-
"nology), to be exact to a year: there may
"be errors of five or ten years, and ſometimes
"twenty, and not much above." This publication, indeed, bearing the name of the immortal Newton, though highly built upon by ſubſequent chronologers, is ſo unſpeakably inferior to that great man's other works, that I am almoſt unwilling to believe its authenticity; and can hardly be perſuaded he ever would have publiſhed it himſelf. The materials of which it is compoſed were probably mere memoranda, committed to paper in the intervals of relaxation from more abſtracted ſtudies. He could not but perceive contradictions and impoſſibilities in the ancient hiſtorians, and in the ſyſtems of thoſe who had framed chronologies from their data. Something he might have meditated, and ſomething we might have had, of authority ſimilar to his higher demonſtrations; had he lived to have ſent it into the world, completely conſidered, and finiſhed with that penetrating diſcernment, which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed his philoſophical inveſtigations. But this remains to be regretted. Poſthumous publications are always to be ſuſpected; and many a great man's fame has felt moſt cruel ſtabs

from the avidity of the public for even the gleanings of ſuperior genius, and the undiſcerning zeal of ſome ſurviving friends.

SECT. IV.

Contradictions in Greek Hiſtorians and Chronologers. Queen Semiramis. The Argonautic expedition. Seſoſtris.

LET us now take a ſlight view of the conſiſtency of the Greek writers, and the more modern chronologers, with regard to a few of the famous perſonages and events of antiquity, and then candidly determine the juſtice of their claim to unlimited belief and authority.—Queen *Semiramis*, according to Cteſias, lived about 2280 Before Chriſt: Helvicus ſays 2248: Syncellus 2177: Petavius 2060: Euſebius 1984: Dr. Jackſon 1964: Archbiſhop Uſher 1215, Philobiblius (from Sanconiathon) 1200: Sir Iſaac Newton 760: Herodotus 713: and D'Herbelot, ſuppoſing her to have been the Perſian queen Homai, grandmother to Darab II. (Darius Codomannus), brings her down within four hundred

years of our era. Diodorus, Strabo, Suidas, Arrian, and others, differ alſo in various degrees: whilſt the actions they aſcribe to her are as monſtrous and impoſſible, as the diſagreement of their reſpective eras.

THE *Argonautic Expedition* has, by many learned men, been conſidered as a fact ſo unqueſtionable, that it has become a kind of grand era for aſcertaining the more doubtful dates of many ſubſequent events. Sir Iſaac Newton, by calculations of the retrograde motion of the Equinoctial and Solſtitial points, called the Colures, from their ſuppoſed place then, till the year 1690, fixes this expedition about the year 937 before Chriſt, grounded chiefly upon a ſuppoſition, that the *Greek Sphere* was invented by two of the Argonauts *Chiron* and *Muſæus*; who delineated the expedition, under the name of *Argo*, amongſt the Aſteriſms. But this ſeems to be a fundamental error into which this great man has fallen, even in his own line. Canopus, the chief ſtar of Argo, is only 37 degrees from the ſouth pole: the greateſt part of the conſtellation is ſtill nearer to it. The courſe of the ſuppoſed voyage from Greece to Colchis lies between 39 and 45 degrees of north latitude. A few only of the leſſer ſtars can poſſibly be ſeen in the whole track: whilſt thoſe of the firſt magni-

tude, and which alone are deſerving of notice in every aſtronomical obſervation, are, in thoſe parts, totally inviſible. But had this ſphere been conſtructed by the Argonauts; and had they wiſhed to commemorate the enterprize by placing their ſhip amongſt the ſtars; they muſt apparently have choſen a conſtellation which was conſpicuous in Greece; and not one, the viſible ſtars of which were too minute to attract attention, or to be of the leaſt uſe in the direction of their navigation. But in fact the very foundation of this aſtronomical queſtion has no baſis: we have no previous demonſtration of the era of Chiron and Muſæus, or even of their exiſtence. The invention of the ſphere, rude as it confeſſedly was, and by no means a ſolid ground for exact calculation, is at the ſame time aſſigned to many who were not Argonauts: and their pretenſions ſeem equally ſubſtantial. Diodorus aſcribes it to Atlas; ſome attribute it to Palamedes; others to Nauſicaa, the daughter of king Alcinous; and many deny it to have been *even of Grecian origin*, but to have come from Egypt. Granting therefore that the equinoxial colure actually paſſed through the middle of Aries, when that ſphere was conſtructed, no argument can poſſibly be drawn from thence to fix the Argonautic expedition,

any more than the building of the pyramids, till it has been firſt of all ſhown that the Argonauts were the inventors. [b]

LET us next conſider the Argonauts in point of number, their courſe, their atchievements, and the time employed in the expedition. *Fifty-one* is the higheſt amount: ſome make them only *forty-four*. Yet theſe heroes, beſides many other important feats, attack Laomedon and take Troy; they build cities and temples in various diſtant countries, which half a million could neither have erected nor peopled; and return to Greece in *four months*, or, according to ſome, in *two*. The courſe they ſteer is equally full of contradiction. On their return from Colchis, they found, it is ſaid, Ætes, the king of that country, whoſe fleece and daughter they had ſtolen, prepared with a fleet to diſpute their paſſage through the Boſphorus of Thrace. Declining an engagement, they ſtruck acroſs the Euxine, and ſailed up the Danube, the Don, or ſome other river, through Northern Europe, into the Baltic; and thence returned, by the Mediterranean, to Greece. Some conduct them from the Danube to the Po or the Rhone; and others, by the ſouthern ocean, through Lybia. Another claſs traces them over the great continent of Aſia into the Indian ocean,

the Red Sea, and the Nile; dragging their Argo all the way over mountains, or carrying it on their ſhoulders, where they could not conveniently ſail. It is unneceſſary to dwell upon the more minute deviations. Some make Jaſon the commander, others inſiſt for Hercules; and even the place of deſtination is varied from Colchis on the Euxine, to the extremity of the Indian coaſt. Diodorus, to give the whole an air of probability, contradicts in many reſpects, every prior account, and makes them return through the Helleſpont; leaving all their famous buildings, to which he himſelf, nevertheleſs, frequently alludes, to be reconciled to an agreement with this route by the reader or any ſubſequent hiſtorian. It would be endleſs to enlarge upon the various impoſſibilities of this celebrated enterprize: and indeed the accounts given by Diodorus, Strabo, and other later writers, were there no other inconſiſtency, ſeem at once to be a complete refutation of the whole. They ſaw the incongruity of their predeceſſors: abſurdities and contradictions in almoſt every line could not well eſcape their penetration. They went therefore upon a different plan. They took part of one, part of another, threw in conjecture with a liberal hand; and formed from the whole an hypotheſis, which might

give an author ſome ſlight air at leaſt of conſiſtency with himſelf. Their tales are more plauſible; yet ſtill they are but tales: we cannot call them facts. Such however has been the ſyſtem apparently adopted by every ſubſequent chronologer and compiler. Diodorus appears to have been the model. We have, in conſequence, ancient events, not as they really happened, but as it was thought they ſhould have happened. In their hands early hiſtory has acquired, in ſome reſpects, the ſuperficial appearance of probability: but as much may be ſaid for Pharamond or Caſſandra; and Orooudates, Arſaces, and the Fair Barſina, may throw in their claim to be realized, and to have their eras aſcertained, with equal pretenſions to reaſon as Hercules, Jaſon, or Medea.

To launch upon the ocean of chronology would require a ſeparate and an extenſive treatiſe. It may only be proper here to obſerve, that all the eminent men in this line have ſplit upon the Rock of Syſtem. A favourite hypotheſis being once adopted, they bend every thing to a co-incidence. Sir John Marſham and Sir Iſaac Newton, for example, fancy a ſimilitude between *Shiſhak* king of Egypt and *Seſoſtris*, whoſe being and period of exiſtence is as doubtful as Semiramis.

The fabulous Seſoſtris conquered half the world; but the Shiſhak of Scripture only plundered Jeruſalem and returned. All the reſemblance that can be diſcerned is, that they are both ſaid to have been kings of Egypt; and that they had both great armies: yet to force them into a point of contact, Seſoſtris is brought down ſome hundreds of years from the ſtation where ancient hiſtorians had placed him; and circumſtances totally diſſimilar are racked into a moſt unſatisfactory proof of their ſimilitude. But, with leſs violence, Charlemagne and Louis XIV. might be made the ſame perſon. They were both kings of France; both were powerful princes; and both poſſeſſed, to a very high degree, the thirſt of extenſive conqueſt, and the conſequent luxury of making mankind wretched.

SECT. V.

The Chronology of the Sacred Writings perplexed by endeavouring to reconcile it with that of the Greeks. An attempt to adjuſt the Seventy years Captivity. Building on Eaſtern proper names, unſupported by facts, the rock on which Chronologers have ſplit.

THE endeavours of commentators to reconcile all the events of ancients times to the hiſtory of the Greeks, have by no means been confined to pagan annals. The chronology of the Sacred Writing has, in many points, without the appearance of neceſſity, been forced into an analogy with their imaginary eras: in conſequence of which, a variety of anachroniſms have been introduced, which are in direct oppoſition to the *Hiſtorical Books of Scripture*, to the *Jewiſh Chronicles*, to *Joſephus*, and to all obſervation on the longevity of man. I ſhall attempt to clear up one event, ſubmitting, with much deference, the ſolidity of my conjectures to men of deeper reſearch and ſuperior abilities. The

Grecians have given us the hiſtory of a Perſian King, called Κῦρος, which we tranſlate *Cyrus*. *Iſaiah* prophecies, that a prince named כורש *Coreſh* will releaſe the *Jews* from captivity, and order the rebuilding of the temple. To reconcile theſe two princes, has been conſidered as an object of high importance; and much learning has been employed to embarraſs a much more ſimple and ſatisfactory chronology. The Jewiſh larger chronicle, and Joſephus, finiſh the building of the temple only about *thirty-four* years before the fall of the Perſian empire: the Samaritan interruptions had protracted the completion of the work near *twenty* years: the Macedonian conqueſt took place about the year 331; to which, if we add the *fifty-four* years above-mentioned, the proclamation of *Coreſh* muſt have been iſſued about the year 385. But the *death of Cyrus* is placed, by the concurrence of our chronologers, in 529, or 144 years before this period: he therefore could not be the prince alluded to by Iſaiah. As a confirmation of the probability of the Jewiſh dates, Joſephus mentions expreſsly, that Sanballat, the Samaritan governor, who had given ſo much interruption to the building of the temple, *was alive in the time of Alexander*; which is extremely poſſible by the above chro-

nology: but by the common ſyſtem, he muſt then have exceeded 200 years of age. *Jaddua* was the High Prieſt who met Alexander on his return from the ſiege of Tyre, in the year 332. Now by the Sacred Writings we find, that *Jaddua* was the fifth in ſucceſſion from *Jeſhua*, who, together with *Zorobabel*, conducted home the captive Jews. This event, if connected with the *Grecian Cyrus*, muſt have been in the year 536, or 204 years before the above-mentioned meeting; which happened in the *ſeventh* year of *Jaddua*'s prieſthood. As *Jeſhua* was probably advanced in age, when commiſſioned with *Zorobabel* to lead the captive people home, *ſeventeen* years may be a full allowance for his dignity, ſubſequent to that period; which leaves *forty-five* years each to the other four; a term far beyond all calculation and probability: eſpecially as the Jewiſh high prieſthood was remarkable for a very quick ſucceſſion. The opinion and records of the Jews, when fixing the chronology of the building of this temple, an event which muſt have made ſo powerful an impreſſion upon the minds of the whole nation, ought indeed to have been deciſive; where no oppoſition eſpecially was found to the Canonical Books. But for no reaſon that can apparently be diſcovered, excepting to

force the *Coreſh* of *Iſaiah* to be the *Cyrus* of the *Greeks*, have our commentators laboured to involve a plainer narrative in darkneſs; and to create with many a doubt of the whole, becauſe there appeared irreconcileable contradictions in the parts. *

As an attachment to the chronology of Greece ſeems to have led therefore to many unneceſſary liberties with Scripture, it cannot be improper to obſerve, how far the hiſtorians of Aſia correſpond with the Sacred Writings. Thoſe kingdoms, known to us by the names of the *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, and *Babylonians*, appear, from the Eaſtern writers, to have formed early one great empire; ſubject to the kings of Perſia, on a tenure nearly reſembling the feudal ſyſtem. The principal of thoſe dependent principalities ſeems to have been Babylon; which, during the reign of Lohoraſb, was governed by a prince called *Nabocodnaſſar*, *Nakhtunaſſar*, and *Bakhtunaſſar*; who is deſcribed as having puſhed his conqueſts far into the Weſt: and particularly, *to have over-run Judea, and made captives of the inhabitants.* His ſon and ſucceſſor is painted as a brutal tyrant; whoſe oppreſſion of the Jews drew upon him the reſentment of Ardeſhir Dirazdeſt, king of Perſia; who removed him from the government, and ap-

pointed in his room *Coreſh*, a prince of the blood, grandſon of Lohoraſb. The mother of this prince, they add, was a Jeweſs; and this they give as one reaſon for the warmth with which he eſpouſed the cauſe of that people: to whom he gave permiſſion to return to Jeruſalem, with every encouragement towards the *rebuilding of the temple*. Now let us obſerve the chronology, and we ſhall find a remarkable concurrence. Darab II. is ſaid, by the Perſian hiſtorians, to have reigned *fourteen* years: Darab I. *twelve*; and queen Homai *thirty*; whoſe immediate predeceſſor, as before obſerved, was Ardeſhir. If we place then the iſſuing of the proclamation *two* years before Ardeſhir's death, this brings it to the year 388, B. C. a difference of only *three* years from the Jewiſh dates; and of ſmall conſequence in ſuch remote tranſactions. Ardeſhir reigned long: let us ſuppoſe *thirty-eight* years before the proclamation of *Coreſh*; add about *thirty* more for the reign of Kiſhtaſb; and the commencement of the *Seventy years captivity* will be placed in the end of the reign of Lohoraſb, by whoſe orders Nabocodnaſſar, as before obſerved, conquered Syria, Paleſtine, and other Weſtern diſtricts.

THE great lines coinciding thus, in a manner ſo ſingular, I ſhall proceed to obſervations

on the ſeeming diſagreement of ſome inferior points. It appears evident, both from Daniel and the Perſian hiſtorians, that *Coreſh* or *Cyrus* acted a ſubordinate part in the taking of Babylon; the name of his ſuperior, being, according to the Sacred Writers, *Darius the Mede*; but, according to the Perſians, *Ardeſhir*, called alſo *Baharam*. No etymological ingenuity, it is certain, can diſcover a reſemblance between thoſe names: but that does not ſeem to be of the ſmalleſt conſequence. The great rock, as obſerved above, upon which our chronologers have uniformly ſplit, is an attention to the fancied ſimilitude of names; and to this they have often ſacrificed every conſiſtency of fact. But nothing can offer a more unſubſtantial baſis. It has been long a cuſtom in the Eaſt for the reigning ſovereign to give his ſon ſome important government, with the title of king; and this name he generally changed when he ſucceeded to his father. The ſon and ſucceſſor of Shapor II. in the fourth century, was called *Kermanſhah*, and by European writers *Carmaſat*; but when he mounted the throne of Perſia he aſſumed the name of *Babaram*. Jengiz Khan, in the early part of life, was called *Temujin*. Many of the Great Moguls have bore different names before their acceſſion. Similar inſtances are

innumerable. It was alſo common in Greece: Plato was originally named Ariſto. That an alteration of names prevailed greatly in old times, we have even remarkable proofs in the Paralipomena books of Scripture. When *Eſther* was ſelected amongſt other virgins for the royal choice, her former name *Hadaſſah* was dropt; and a new one given to her, ſignifying, in Perſian, *A Star*. When *Daniel*, *Hananiah*, *Miſhael*, and *Azariah*, were choſen to attend the king, their names were changed to *Belteſhezzar*, *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abed-nego*. All nations, we may alſo obſerve, have had a greater or leſs partiality for metonymical and metaphorical alluſions: and many perſonages have been often deſcribed by ſome peculiar attribute, or title; which was perfectly well underſtood by thoſe to whom the ſpeech or writing was addreſſed, though by no means obvious to others without a key. In the Sacred Writings, a hiſtory of the Perſian empire is not intended: ſuch points only are touched upon, as are connected with the annals of the Jews: to be intelligible to the choſen people is all that was propoſed: the name, the title, or the epithet of the ſovereign of Perſia, which was moſt familiar to *them*, was conſequently choſen: and whether it was the *King*, the *Great King*, *Darius*, or

any correſponding denomination, it was certainly a point of no importance, whilſt they all were perfectly underſtood. *Dara*, as obſerved before, ſignifies, in Perſian, a *Great King*; and the addition of *Median* might ſimply denote that his chief reſidence was in that country. The different Perſian monarchs of the Kaianian dynaſty, had a partiality for different cities in their extenſive empire. Lohoraſb was ſo remarkably fond of *Balkh* in Khoraſſan, that he is often called *Balkhi*. His ſucceſſor Kiſhtaſb gave the preference to *Iſtakhar* or *Perſepolis*. Bahaman might have lived occaſionally in *Media*; and poſſibly have marched from thence, attended by *Coreſh*, on the expedition againſt Babylon. Queen Homai was particularly attached to *Perſepolis*; where the Aſiatic hiſtorians ſay ſhe built the celebrated palace which they name Chehelminar, afterwards deſtroyed by Alexander: and, as this became the favourite abode of her ſucceſſors till the Macedonian conqueſt, we accordingly find that every ſubſequent event, mentioned in the Sacred Writings, is referred to the time of *Darius the Perſian*; tho' comprehending a period far beyond the reign of that prince: a circumſtance which has induced Sir Iſaac Newton to ſuppoſe *Darius the Perſian* to include *Darius Nothus* as

well as *Darius Codomannus*: a theory by no means ſatisfactory, as it will not account for the ſilence of Scripture with regard to the intermediate princes, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arogus*. The whole endeavours of the learned, indeed, to reconcile the *Perſian Kings of Scripture* to the *Perſian Kings of the Greeks*, appear only to be productive of embarraſſment: but if the theory now propoſed is found to be juſt, Of conſidering many of the Scripture names as mere royal titles, it will correſpond perfectly with the ſublime figurative language of the Sacred Writers, and pave the way for removing ſeveral perplexing difficulties. The only Babyloniſh and Perſian princes found in the Bible are *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Evil Merodach*, *Balſhazzar*, *Ahaſuerus*, *Darius the Mede*, *Coreſh*, and *Darius the Perſian*: *Artaxerxes* is alſo mentioned in *Nehemiah*. The firſt Babyloniſh prince correſponds exactly in name, era, and actions with the Perſian hiſtorians. The next two are not named by them; being only, in general, conſidered as governors or feudatory princes under the Great King: and the others, I apprehend, are ſimply epithets, given indiſcriminately to any of the Perſian monarchs, like *Cæſar*, or *Czar* in Europe. *Ahaſuerus* or *Achaſuerus* has, in particular,

been the ſubject of much etymological inveſtigation. Sir Iſaac Newton, by inadvertency, makes him, in one place, to be *Cyaxares*, and, in another, *Xerxes*. Archbiſhop Uſher ſuppoſes him to be *Darius Hyſtaſpes*; Scaliger, *Xerxes*; Joſephus, the Septuagint, and Dr. Hyde, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. Now each of theſe conjectures contradicts the other; and none of them co-incide with the common chronology of the Bible, excepting Uſher. Four different princes are named; and a range is taken of 187 years: the reign of the firſt, according to Newton, commencing 611 years, and the laſt dying 424, before Chriſt.

As ſuch diſagreements, amongſt our moſt learned men, ſhow clearly, that the baſis muſt be wrong, there can be no impropriety in adding one conjecture more; which is, That *Ahaſuerus*, like *Darius*, is not the name of any individual prince, but a title; and probably derived, by a very ſimple Perſian etymology, from *Choſru*; which ſignifies a *Great King*. *Choſru* or *Kai Choſru* was the third prince of the Kaianian dynaſty; whoſe ſucceſsful wars againſt the Turanians or Scythians, the old hereditary enemies of Perſia, had greatly extended and firmly eſtabliſhed the empire. His reputation was high in Aſia: he was almoſt adored by his ſubjects, and by after-genera-

tions. The names of diſtinguiſhed men in the Eaſt, have frequently been aſſumed as titles by ſucceeding princes; and they have been often given to them by foreign nations, whether they aſſumed them or not. Many kings of the Aſhkanian and Saſſanian dynaſties bore the name of this ancient Perſian monarch, by way of adjunct or ſurname, as *Choſru Parviz*, *Choſru Nuſhirvan*: and the Romans gave the name of *Coſroes* to almoſt every ſovereign of the Saſſanian race. That foreigners might, in older times, have done the ſame with reſpect to the Kaianian princes, is entirely conſiſtent with probability. And upon this ground we ſhall obviate another difficulty, with regard to *Ahaſuerus*, which ſeems difficult to be reconciled on other principles; and furniſhes, at the ſame time, a ſtrong preſumptive argument in ſupport of the preſent theory. We find an *Ahaſuerus* in *Eſther*, and an *Ahaſuerus* in *Ezra*. Now according to the common Scripture and Greek chronology, theſe cannot be the ſame individual prince. The marriage of the firſt with Eſther is placed about the year 515 before Chriſt. *Cyrus*, as before obſerved, died in 529, and *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, ſucceeding Smerdis Magus in 521, reigned till 485. But in *Ezra* we find the ſucceſſion to be *Cyrus*,

Darius, and *Ahaſuerus*. This laſt prince muſt have reigned therefore after *Darius*, not earlier than 485; and could not reign likewiſe, cotemporary with him, in 515. Should the advocates for archbiſhop Uſher's idea even inſiſt, that, notwithſtanding this paſſage, there was ſtill but one *Ahaſuerus*, and that *Ahaſuerus* was *Darius*; for the ſake of argument, it might be granted, without weakening the hypotheſis: as it would then demonſtrate, that the ſame prince is called in the Bible both *Darius* and *Ahaſuerus*; and that they were conſequently both royal titles, and indiſcriminately uſed. It may perhaps be ſaid, that if theſe were royal titles, the prefixing of *Melech*, or any ſimilar word, implying a ſovereign, as *King Darius*, or *King Ahaſuerus*, would be a tautological redundancy. But that would be an objection of no weight, nothing being more common in the Eaſt: a famous prince in the eleventh century, amongſt many inſtances, being called *Sultan Malek Shah*, which literally ſignifies *King King King*.

THE apparent concluſions to be drawn from the preceding obſervations, are, That the Greeks and Romans in their ancient hiſtories, eſpecially of diſtant countries, are often wrong; and, in general, liable to ſuſpicion:

That their accounts of the Eaſt, as well with regard to manners, as hiſtoric facts, are inconſiſtent with the Aſiatic authors; irreconcileable with Scripture; contradictory in themſelves; and often impoſſible in nature: That as the later writers, Diodorus, Strabo, Plutarch, are often in complete oppoſition to the earlier hiſtorians, and complain of the repugnances with which they are every where perplexed, nothing can more ſtrongly point to a fundamental error: That modern chronologers, commentators, and compilers of Ancient Hiſtory, differ likewiſe greatly in opinion; ſupporting frequently their ſyſtems by points of a moſt doubtful complexion, and rejecting others of a far more probable appearance: That a reſemblance of names is often preferred to a conſiſtency in facts: That the inventions of ſuperſtition, or the fictions of poets, are often viewed as real events; and the ſame critical accuracy employed in fixing the early epochs of imaginary beings, as in reſolving the moſt rational truths of more authentic times. That ſuch being the uncertain baſis of Ancient Story, no materials ought to be deſpiſed; That the Perſian and Arabian hiſtorians are intitled to attention, in whatever regards their own countries; their relations being grounded at leaſt on national belief;

and national belief never originating without ſome foundation: That the mere priority in time of the Weſtern to the Eaſtern writers, when unſupported by circumſtances of higher evidence, ſhould give no preference in regard to authority: as, upon the ſame principles, we might rank a *Cteſias* before *Plutarch*; a *Roger de Hoveden* before *Hume*; or a *Gregory of Tours* before *De Thou*: That we may perceive ſome ſtrong lines of truth in the Eaſtern hiſtorians, from their concurrence with the Bible, in the few facts mentioned above: whilſt even their ſilence on ſome heads, with their ſlight variation in others, furniſh high preſumption of their authenticity: for had they been exactly in conformity with the Scripture, we ſhould naturally have concluded, that their materials had been borrowed from thence; and conſidered them merely in the light of tranſlations. But the manner in which they are told ſhows, that the great lines were independently known in Perſia; and that the difference is ſimply what might have been expected between Sacred Writers, who had every opportunity of information; and the annaliſts of another country, who neither had ſuch advantages, nor were ſo deeply intereſted in the events.

THE uſefulneſs of the Arabic language, in the illuſtration of Scripture, has indeed long been generally acknowledged; whilſt the Perſian, little ſtudied by the learned, has hardly ever been conſidered as an auxiliary in this important point. Yet when we reflect upon the intimate connection of a great part of the hiſtory of the Jews with that of Perſia, it is difficult to account for this ſingular inattention, upon any ground but the ſuppoſition, That the old dialect of Perſia is loſt; and that the modern can give no aſſiſtance in remote enquiries. But this, as I have before obſerved, ſeems to be a ſurmiſe, unſupported by the ſlighteſt authority: the pure Perſian now in uſe being evidently of very high antiquity; and apparently the chief language in which any thing Perſian, worth preſervation or recovery, has been written by the ancient natives: however it may have been diſguiſed under a variety of perplexing characters, which few have given themſelves the trouble to conſider with attention. Should the Arabic and Perſian languages ever become therefore, like the Greek and Latin, objects of general education; and learned men, freed from the fetters of prejudice, be once brought to ſuppoſe, that Grecian and Roman information may *ſometimes* be aſſiſted or corrected by

a judicious ſtudy of Eaſtern authors, many diſcoveries muſt evidently be expected; which may furniſh a variety of uſeful clues to the dark labyrinths of Ancient Mythology, Hiſtory, and Manners. [f]

SECT. VI.

Uſefulneſs of the Arabic and Perſian languages in throwing light on early times. Strictures on Mr. Bryant's New Syſtem or Analyſis of Ancient Mythology.

AMONGST other learned men who, apparently from an idea of their modern date, have diſputed the utility of the Arabic and Perſian languages, in the inveſtigation of remote antiquity, is the ingenious author of *A New Syſtem or Analyſis of Ancient Mythology*; a work in which the novel ingenuity of the Analytic Syſtem; the penetration and judgment diſplayed in the refutation of vulgar errors; with the new and informing light in which he has placed a variety of ancient facts; leaves the learned world only to regret,

that this claſſical writer had not, to his ſingular knowledge in Greek and Roman literature, added ſome tincture of the languages and learning of the Eaſt. As there appears, however, to be an impropriety in any perſon's condemning what he confeſſedly does not underſtand; and as this learned gentleman has attacked a province, which I conceive it is my duty to defend; I ſhall endeavour to remove ſome of the prejudices which he may have created: as the errors of a writer of uncommon abilities, who has laid down canons for future hiſtory, may have a more dangerous tendency than the miſtakes of inferior men, whom few read, and ſtill fewer follow. [a]

The chief points, which Mr. Bryant means to eſtabliſh, are, *Firſt*, The univerſality of the Deluge from Gentile authorities. *Secondly*, The migration, after the Babel diſperſion, of a people whom he calls *Cuthites* or *Amonians*, the deſcendants of *Chus* the ſon of *Ham*. *Thirdly*, The Arkite ceremonials, with the general worſhip of the Sun and Fire, as introduced by thoſe people into the different countries where they eſtabliſhed colonies. [b]

Two great lines, our learned author obſerves, marked, in particular, the Amonian character; The monuments and rites which they every where inſtituted, as memorials of

the Univerſal Deluge; and The proofs they every where left of their idolatrous worſhip of the Sun and Fire. With regard to the firſt great event, I ſhall only obſerve, in general, that the departing from the Sacred Writings, to prove the deſtruction of mankind by Pagan authorities, however laudable the intention, ſeems firſt to ſhake to the foundations the venerable fabrick, and then to prop it with a bullruſh. For, where recourſe is had to feeble and imperfect evidence, a cauſe muſt ever be hurt in proportion to its failure. Yet, as if truth wanted the aid of fiction, innumerable have been the attempts of the learned to eſtabliſh, by forced and unnatural conſtruction, a conformity between the early hiſtory of the Hebrews and the later fables of Greece, Egypt, and other ancient nations. From the fragments of Beroſus, Sanconiathon, Manetho, and other remote fablers, any thing, and every thing, may indeed be drawn, which a lively imagination can ſuggeſt; but the working up of ſuch ſtrange materials into any circumſtance deſcriptive of Noah's Deluge, ſhews a warmth of fancy, highly prepared for the reception of every thing marvellous. Whilſt, giving them all their utmoſt force, they prove, at laſt, preciſely nothing: for ingenious men, if reſolved to apply to profane materials in

ſupport of Scripture, ought to go to mountainous diſtricts, and to countries far removed from the poſſibility of natural inundations: they ought to conſider Hindoſtan, and other quarters of the world, where they poſitively refuſe to believe this important event. Teſtimonies from ſuch regions would be far more concluſive than hundreds of volumes from Egypt and Chaldea. The periodical overflowings of the Nile, it is eaſy to imagine, might have proved fatal to the firſt inhabitants of Egypt, till experience had taught them to guard againſt its inundations; whilſt the terror naturally filling the minds of rude men, who, with difficulty, had eſcaped a deluge in which their deareſt friends had periſhed, might eaſily give riſe to ten times more ſuperſtitious rites than ever inveſtigation has diſcovered in ancient Egypt. The ſame arguments will hold with equal force, in regard to the ſtill darker glimmerings from Babylonia; where mounds, canals, and all the efforts of the ruling powers for thouſands of years, have not been able to prevent the ſudden deſolation which the Euphrates and Tigris have often ſpread around. To advance, in ſhort, as proofs of an Univerſal Deluge, ſuch ceremonies as the proceſſions of Egyptian prieſts, with a boat and a ſtrange figure, ap-

pears to be equally unſatisfactory, as the demonſtration of a general deſtruction by fire would have been, from obſervations on the environs of Mounts Veſuvius or Ætna.

THE next point, in relation to the Cuthite or Amonian worſhip of the Sun and Fire, I ſhall conſider with more attention; as the ſtrongeſt arguments ſeem naturally to ſpring from the ſubject, to demonſtrate the uſefulneſs of the Arabic and Perſian languages, in relation to the hiſtory and mythology of ancient times; and ſhow convincingly, at the ſame time, that the moſt intimate acquaintance with the literature of Greece and Rome will lead the greateſt critical acumen but a little way without ſuch aſſiſtance. To make the ſubſequent obſervations more intelligible, it will be proper to give two extracts from the learned author's preface, which will fully ſhow the ground-work of his ingenious hypotheſis.

"It is neceſſary for me to acquaint the reader, "that the wonderful people, to whom I al- "lude, were the deſcendants of Chus; and "called Cuthites and Cuſeans. They ſtood "their ground at the general migration of fa- "milies: but were at laſt ſcattered over the "face of the earth. They were the firſt "apoſtates from the truth; yet great in "worldly wiſdom. They introduced, where-

"ever they came, many uſeful arts; and "were looked up to, as a ſuperior order of "beings: hence they were ſtiled, Heroes, "Dæmons, Heliadæ, Macarians. They were "joined in their expeditions by other nations; "eſpecially by the collateral branches of their "family, the Mizraim, Caphtorim, and the "ſons of Canaan. Theſe were all of the "line of Ham, who was held, by his poſte-"rity, in the higheſt veneration. They call-"ed him Amon: and having, in proceſs of "time, raiſed him to a divinity, they wor-"ſhipped him as the ſun: and from this "worſhip they were ſtiled Amonians."——"Moſt ancient names, not only of places but "of perſons, have a manifeſt analogy; there is "likewiſe a great correſpondence to be ob-"ſerved in terms of ſcience, and in the titles "which were, of old, beſtowed upon magiſ-"trates and rulers. The ſame obſervation "may be extended even to plants and mine-"rals, as well as to animals, eſpecially to "thoſe which were eſteemed at all ſacred; "their names ſeem to be compoſed of the "ſame or ſimilar elements, and bear a mani-"feſt relation to the religion in uſe among "the Amonians, and to the deity whom they "adored. This deity was the ſun; and moſt "of the ancient names will be found to be

"an aſſemblage of titles beſtowed upon that "luminary. In conſequence of this, I have "ventured to give a liſt of ſome Amonian "terms, which occur in the mythology of "Greece and in the hiſtories of other nations. "Moſt ancient names ſeem to have been "compoſed out of theſe elements; and into "the ſame principles they may be again re-"ſolved by an eaſy and fair evolution. I ſub-"join to theſe a ſhort interpretation, and, at "the ſame time, produce different examples "of names and titles, which are thus com-"pounded. From hence the reader will ſee "plainly my method of analyſis, and the ba-"ſis of my etymological enquiries."

THUS has this learned gentleman created a people to fill up every chaſm of high antiquity, and to account for all the phenomena of early population, hiſtory, and ſuperſtition. As the Sacred Writings, however, afford no lights to trace the wanderings of this extraordinary family; and as all his gleanings from profane tradition might with equal force, in the ſame ingenious hands, prove Confucius to be William the Conqueror; his ſubſtantial proofs, in my apprehenſion, amount to nothing: the great weight of his evidence reſting chiefly on the ground of etymological deduction. Such being the ſtation he has choſen to con-

trovert the ſyſtems of all preceding writers, and to fix the principles of all ſucceeding hiſtory, it could have been wiſhed, that the moſt unqueſtioned ſtrength had marked his fundamental axioms; that the definitions of his elementary particles had been preciſely fixed; that the languages, whence he has drawn the meanings he has annexed, had been diſtinctly ſpecified; and that not a doubt ſhould have been left upon the reader's mind with regard to the great baſis upon which his fabrick ſtands. But on this leading point, aſſertion ſeems too often to have uſurped the province of proof: of above forty radicals, a half at leaſt do not appear to approach the ſenſes he has given them: whilſt, miſled by his ear and his eye, he has fancied analogies, which the languages will not bear; and drawn concluſions, to which the premiſes ſeem completely foreign.

One great endeavour of our learned author is to trace to his Cuthites the origin of Solar and Igneous worſhip: and, in order to fix this theorem, he brings forward a number of particles, which, he ſays, in ancient times ſignified the *Sun* or *Fire*. But as he ſeldom mentions in what particular language they were recived in thoſe ſenſes, doubts naturally ariſe. To the Sun, as a mere aſtronomical

body, or to the Fire, as a ſimple element, few of them appear to bear the moſt remote relation: and, in any other ſenſe, deſcriptive of them as objects of adoration, they might, with equal propriety, be adduced to authenticate the worſhip of the Egyptian Onion, the Druids Oak, or the great Arabian Stone Devil in the valley of Mouna. For how far they may have been figuratively applied, will prove only the traces of *general* ſuperſtition; without pointing either to the nature, origin, or votaries of any *particular* mode of worſhip: becauſe *great*, *glorious*, and ſuch epithets, which ſome of thoſe words imply, may have been indiſcriminately beſtowed upon every ſtock or ſtone, which the folly of man has, at any time, thought proper to treat with reſpect. [f]

THE firſt of thoſe particles which I ſhall take notice of, is *el* or *al*. In Hebrew, Arabic, and Perſian, this word has many different meanings; and, amongſt others, ſignifies *a god*: but without the leaſt authority to ſuppoſe that it ever had any particular affinity to the Sun. In a variety of inſtances, however, it is merely the Arabic article *the*; as *Elain* The fountain, *Elaur* The Fire, *Ain al ſham* The fountain of Syria, *El ſaid* The Prince; &c. "The deity *El*, Mr. Bryant

" ſays, was particularly invoked by the Eaſ-
" tern nations, when they made an attack in
" battle: at ſuch time they uſed to cry out
" *El-el* and *Al-al*. This Mohammed could
" not bring his proſelytes to leave off, and
" therefore changed it to *Allah*." But this appears to have no foundation, and the learned gentleman produces no proof. I have not been able to diſcover, that the Arabians ever entertained the leaſt partiality for *El*, as a divinity: nor is the name even to be found amongſt the numerous idols worſhipped by the different tribes: a circumſtance extremely improbable, had it ever been remarkable as an object of their invocation. *Allah*, on the contrary, is a word of much antiquity; and was certainly in uſe among the Arabians long before the era of Mohammed. I ſhall mention one unqueſtionable authority. The prince Amralkeis, a cotemporary of Mohammed, was one of the moſt celebrated of the Arabian poets; and the author of one of the famous poems, formerly mentioned, called *Moallakat*; which, on account of their ſuperior excellence, were hung up in the temple of Mecca. In this poem, *Allah* occurs; where it never could have appeared, had it been an innovation of Mohammed. Two reaſons ſeem to be concluſive; *firſt*, The rooted aver-

ſion and contempt that prince ever entertained for the prophet and his religion, which would have made him deſpiſe the idea of adopting any thing originating from him: and, *ſecondly*, The certainty that this poem muſt have been written, and ſuſpended in the Kaaba, before Mohammed's public appearance; or at leaſt before he had obtained influence ſufficient with the Arabians, to make them depart from eſtabliſhed uſages: for after he had got that Temple into his power, we find no more poems hung up there. To have admitted any thing indeed into that ſacred fabric, which ſupported not the new religion, would have been conſidered as a high profanation: and we cannot ſurely ſuppoſe, that the productions of a profeſſed pagan, a perſonal enemy to the prophet, and an open ſcoffer at the Moſlem faith, ſhould have met with that favour which was denied from this period to all the world. Another proof that *Allah* was of old uſed for Omnipotence amongſt the Arabians, may be drawn from the following circumſtances. The chief religion that prevailed in this country, before the Mohammedan, was the Sabian: which inculcated a belief in one Supreme Deity; in the ſtars and angels, as his ſubordinates; and in idols, as their repreſentatives. Of thoſe idols the principal was *Allat*, or *Ali-*

bet (the feminine of Allah), whom they conſidered as the eldeſt daughter of God; and worſhipped, in that character, with the higheſt degree of devotion. If the Arabians had therefore any ſpecies of war-cry before their prophet's era, it was probably either *Allah*, which they uſe ſtill, or *Allat*, their favourite goddeſs: both of which are derived from a root wholly diſſimilar to *El*. Was any further argument neceſſary, to prove that this was no introduction of the Arabian lawgiver, the ſilence of the Alcoran would alone, perhaps, be ſufficient: for had this cry ever prevailed, and had it ever been conſidered as an object of alteration by Mohammed, it muſt have been mentioned in that book: there being no point to which the prophet was more ſtrictly attentive than to introduce into it, by the pretended miniſtry of the angel Gabriel, every innovation, however trifling, which he judged proper to make, in the religion, laws and manners of his countrymen: in order to gain reſpect, and ſecure obedience to his mandates; which, by this device, he perſuaded his followers, were the immediate dictates of heaven.[s]

On, or *eon*, is ſaid to be an Egyptian name of the Sun; and for this we have the authority of the prieſt Manetho, as quoted by Euſebius and Theophilus. I ſhall not diſpute it;

but only obſerve, that every thing relative to the old Egyptians is ſo ſtrangely involved in hieroglyphic darkneſs and abſurdity, that we know little, which bears the ſemblance of probability, with regard to their hiſtory, their religion, or their language. The kahens, or prieſts, it appears, had a myſterious character of their own; and as every expreſſion of common ſenſe ſeems to have been conſidered by them as dangerous to their power, by removing the barrier of ſuperſtition from between them and the people; ſymbols, which meant any thing and nothing, were uſed as the only medium of religious communication. The rude and hideous hieroglyphics on their obeliſks, have no analogy to thoſe of any people in the world; nor has any enquiry fixed the moſt remote reſemblance between their ſacred dialect and that of any adjacent ſtate. To build therefore Syrian, Chaldean, or Phrygian rites, dignities, and cities, on Egyptian etymologies, appears, at beſt, a moſt ſuſpicious ground; and certainly very unfit to bear a ſuperſtructure of any magnitude.

THE etymological combinations and derivatives from *Ham*, the ſon of the patriarch Noah, and the ſuppoſed progenitor of the Cuthite family, are introduced, in a variety of lights, as great authorities in ſupport of the

exiſtence of this uncommon people; and of the adoration of the Sun and Fire, which they are ſaid to have ſo univerſally propagated. But on this head I have many doubts. *Ham*, in the Hebrew, as well as in the Arabic, is ſpelt with a letter, the true pronunciation of which is a ſtrong aſpiration, reſembling *h* in *Hound*. Wherever Europeans have therefore written it *Cham*, it muſt apparently have proceeded either from inadvertency, or to accommodate it to a ſimilar ſound in their own languages. The Germans and Dutch, in particular, will ever adopt this mode, becauſe they univerſally give *ch* a ſtrong guttural pronunciation; but in Engliſh and other languages it ſeems to be wrong; as this Eaſtern word can never, with propriety, be pronounced like *Character*; but preciſely as *Hound* above-mentioned, or as *Ham*, the manner in which it has been uniformly and judiciouſly expreſſed by the tranſlators of our Engliſh Bible. The combinations, in which hard *Ch* or *C* is introduced, appear, for theſe reaſons, to have no natural concern with the name of the patriarch; and muſt, if they have any meaning, be looked for in various and very diſtinct roots: though chance and corruption may poſſibly, after all, lay a ſtronger claim to the far greater number, than the moſt ingenious

analyſis can trace to a more legitimate origin. It may be ſaid indeed, and with truth, that ſome nations have univerſally given the hard ſound of *ch* to this letter; the Italians in particular writing and pronouncing Mohammed *Machomete*. But this is evidently a corruption: corruptions are not uniform; Perſians, Syrians, Greeks, indeed all nations, corrupt differently. Yet Mr. Bryant brings names from China to Rome, beginning with hard *C* and *Ch*: and all of them, he ſays, derived from *Ham*: but till it can be demonſtrated, that theſe various nations, diſſimilar in almoſt every point of view, are, nevertheleſs, uniform in their mode of corrupting foreign words, we ſhall hardly be induced to believe, that thoſe names challenge an origin from one common radical word. — *Amon* or *Omanus*, and ſimilar names which he alſo deduces from *Ham*, ſeem, if poſſible, to be ſtill more vague. The Hebrew and the Arabic differ remarkably in their formation from moſt other tongues. In theſe the alphabets are divided into certain letters, which they call *radicals*, and *ſerviles*. The firſt are as eſſential to the texture of a word, as the head is to the human body: and excepting in poſition, muſt ever remain unaltered; conjugation, declenſion, with every ſpecies of inflexion, derivation and compoſi-

tion, being performed by the intermediation of the ſerviles. As theſe are placed not only at the beginning and end of words, but alſo in the middle, the radicals are conſequently often ſeparated; and they are ſometimes tranſpoſed: but to omit any of thoſe indiſpenſible letters, or to add a radical to a root already complete, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the genius of the tongues; and wholly deſtructive of the words; as either depriving them altogether of ſenſe, or giving them meanings incompatible with the intrinſic ſignifications of their themes. Now the initial *h* in *Hamon* is a radical letter: to remove it, is preciſely removing the whole word; *Amon*, on thoſe principles, can apparently have no reference to the ſon of Noah; and every concluſion drawn from the *Amonian* appellative of the Cuthite people, ſeems to be a foundation by far too ſlight to ſupport the edifice, which the learned gentleman has erected upon it.

Ait, we are next told, is the *Sun*; but ſtill without mentioning in what dialect. *Ait*, in Hebrew and Arabic, ſignifies a *ſign*, *wonder*, *miracle*, &c. and in this ſenſe *Ait-el* (which, according to Mr. Bryant, implies *Deus Sol*) may be rendered The *wonderful God*; and *Ait-ur*, The *miraculous fire*, inſtead of The *fire* or *heat of the Sun*. *Athyr*, one of the old

Egyptian months, of Chaldean extraction, which he derives from this combination, ſeems to come from a different origin; and may perhaps be the ſame with the Perſian *Azyr* or *azer*, which ſignifies *Fire*, *lightning*, *the Angel of fire*; and alſo a month, which correſponded anciently with March, and now with November. That the Chaldeans and Perſians had many words in common, is unqueſtionable; whilſt the difference of pronunciation is nothing but what is uſual in every word where ſuch letters are found; the Jews, the Arabians, and probably the Egyptians, giving often the hard ſound *t'h*, *dh*, *ds*, &c. to thoſe characters, which the Perſians ſoften into *z* or *s*.[k]

As, *is*, or *ees*, is alſo ſaid to be the *Sun*. In Hebrew, *as* undoubtedly denotes *Fire*; and may, poſſibly, have been figuratively applied to the Star of Day: I ſhall here confine my obſervations therefore to ſome miſtakes into which Mr. Bryant has been apparently led by a ſimilarity of ſounds. "*As*, he ſays, is "ſometimes compounded with itſelf, and ren-"dered *aſas* and *azaz*;" and thence he draws a variety of concluſions, as if the combinations from *aſas* or *aſis*, and *azaz* or *azis*, were deducible from the ſame original: but Cicero and Scanderbeg are not more diſtinct than

the roots from whence they ſpring; the firſt implying, in Hebrew, as before obſerved, *Fire*; and, in Arabic, *A foundation, origin, firſt principle*; the other denoting *Glory, dignity, power*, &c: whilſt the initial letters are, at the ſame time, not only quite different, but *s* and *z*, however interchangeable ſometimes in other languages, (as patronize, patroniſe; authorize, authoriſe, in Engliſh), are equally remote, in the Eaſtern dialects, from promiſcuous uſe, as the moſt oppoſite ſounding characters in the alphabet. *Ateſh*, Fire, it may alſo be remarked, can never poſſibly be derived from *ad-is*. the radicals being totally irreconcileable; an objection that indeed may be made to the names of almoſt all the countries, temples, lakes, and fountains; which, by combination, tranſpoſition, and fancied analogy, he lays down, as originating from *as* or *az*.

San, ſon, zan, zaan, Mr. Bryant ſays, was the moſt common name for the Sun; but in what Eaſtern dialect we are not informed. Upon this ground, he obſerves, however, that the Indian *Hercules*, or the Greek *Dorſanes*, was an abridgement of *Adorſan*; which he interprets *Lord of light*: but we have no proof that *ador* ever ſignified a *Lord*, or *ſan* the *Sun* or *Light*. *Ador* may be tranſlated, in Arabic,

The power of fire: but I would rather ſuppoſe it to be the ſame as the Perſian *Azer* (Fire) mentioned above; for, by the difference of pointing, or provincial pronunciation, it may be ſounded *azor*, *azer*, *azyr*, *ador*, &c. *San*, when ſubjoined to nouns in the Perſian language, implies *ſimilitude*; *Adorſan* or *Azerſan* may ſignify therefore *reſembling fire*, *ſplendid*, *bright*: and, conſequently, it may, with propriety, have been applied as an epithet or attribute to a deity. *Barſanes*, an ancient king of Armenia, is alſo ſaid to denote *Barſan*, or *offspring of the Sun*; yet ſtill as we diſpute *ſan*'s relation to the ſun, it is impoſſible to admit it. *Bar*, as an adjunct, denotes *a country*, as Malabar, Tranquebar, &c. it alſo implies *great*, *elevated*; and, in that ſenſe, is often joined with the name of God: *San* ſignifies *dignity*, *grandeur*, *honour*, &c. A combination of ſuch terms may naturally furniſh good etymological grounds for religious or royal titles, without any relation to the ſun: but I will go a little farther, and juſt hint, that *Barſan* may be corrupted from *Barzan* or *Berzin*, which in Perſian denotes *Fire*, *a temple of fire*, *a chief prieſt of fire*; and abſolutely the name of the reputed founder of the firſt temple of fire in Armenia: in which country, by Grecian as well as Eaſtern tradition, this

mode of worſhip is ſaid to have originated; and to have been carried from thence by Zoroaſter into Perſia. As the king was often, at the ſame time, high prieſt, the propoſed etymology may not, perhaps, be altogether ideal.[m]

Aſt, aſta, eſta, heſtia, ſignified, our learned author ſays, the *Fire, or the deity of that element*; but ſtill we are left in the dark with regard to the tongue. On this ſuppoſition, however, he diſputes an etymology of Dr. Hyde with reſpect to *Iſtakhar* or *Perſepolis*; and I muſt venture to differ not only from both, but even from the Farhang Jehangiri. The learned Doctor imagines this city to have been named from a palace or temple hewn out of a Rock; and derives it, in conſequence, from the eighth conjugation of an Arabic verb, which has a reference to *Stones*. The derivation is ſufficiently vague in any point of view; but the tracing it to an Arabic origin ſeems to deſtroy it at once. It is not till the ſeventh century of the Chriſtian era, as before obſerved, that we are to look for the introduction of Arabic words into the Perſian language: whilſt *Iſtakhar* is a city of ſuch high antiquity, that the origin is loſt in uncertainty and fiction. King Gemſhid is the hiſtorical founder of it: Romance carries it beyond Adam, and aſcribes it to Jan ben Jan, the

king of the Genii: the one indeed may be as fabulous as the other; but they both inconteſtibly prove its extreme antiquity. To ſuppoſe then, that the Perſians, who appear, in all ages, to have been remarkably attentive to give every place a name, in their own tongue, expreſſive of ſome peculiar quality, or commemorative of ſome great event, ſhould, on the foundation of their metropolis, their chief temple, or their royal palace, have recourſe to a language they apparently knew nothing of; and ſpoken by a people whoſe political conſequence could then intitle them to no ſuperior reſpect; appears equally viſionary as hunting for the etymologies of London or Paris, in the dialects of China or Japan. Mr. Bryant is led to queſtion this derivation, but upon grounds I am afraid more refined than ſolid. "I am entirely a ſtranger (ſays he) "to the Perſic and Arabic languages; yet I "cannot acquieſce in his opinion. . . . . The "place, to be ſure, is built of ſtone taken "from a quarry or rock: but what temple "or palace is not?" This reaſoning does not ſeem concluſive; for, were there not, even in England, numberleſs palaces and churches built of materials very different from ſtone, the caprice of founders cannot always be accounted for: and he might, with the ſame

force of argument, diſpute the exiſtence of *Cività Vecchia*, or *Newcaſtle*; becauſe all cities muſt, in time, grow old; and every caſtle muſt have once been new. But the interpretation which this objection is meant to introduce, ſtands upon a bottom by no means more ſubſtantial; for where does *Eſta* ſignify *fire*, and *char* a *palace* or a *temple?* Not apparently in the Perſian, to which alone we ought to look for the etymon of a Perſian metropolis: and this idea has accordingly been followed by the author of the Farhang, who deduces it from a word, which in that language ſignifies a *large ciſtern* or *tank* hollowed out of the rock: but this derivation appears alſo to be exceptionable; as every circumſtance of likelihood will lead us rather to imagine, that the ciſtern, inſtead of originally beſtowing a name, received its own afterwards from the temple; to which it was not only inferior in importance, but ſubſequent probably in point of time: whilſt the ſacred application of its waters, to ſome of the higher myſteries of their religion, might ſoon cauſe the name univerſally to prevail, and to denote, in general, any ſimilar reſervoir of water: as *Spaw* is now, from its celebrity, applied often by us to denote any mineral ſpring. Having thus diſſented from ſuch reſpectable authorities,

I ſhall now proceed to hazard two etymologies, which have at leaſt the appearance of ſtanding upon a broader and more ſimple baſis. *Iſta* denotes a *place*, *ſtation*, *dwelling* (from the Perſian verb *Iſtaden*, To ſtand, remain, dwell); *Khur* or *Khar* ſignifies the *Sun*: whence *Iſtakhar* will naturally imply, the *place or temple of the Sun*. *Iſta*, *eſta*, or *uſta*, means alſo *praiſe* (from the verb *ſutuden*); and, in this ſenſe, the combination of theſe words will expreſs *Praiſe of the Sun*: both of which interpretations ſeem to be unforced; and to be highly characteriſtic of the capital and chief temple of an empire, where, from time immemorial, the Sun had been the great oſtenſible object of adoration. [a]

Shem, *ſhamen*, and *ſhemeſh*, we are next told, are terms relative to the Heavens, and to the Sun; and here we have Hebrew authority: but every concluſion the learned gentleman has formed, from the premiſes, is another demonſtrative proof, how much in the dark the beſt judgment muſt wander; when building upon etymological definitions, without a knowledge of the languages whence the information ſhould be drawn. *Samos*, *Samothrace*, *Samora*, and ſuch names, if they really are of Eaſtern extraction, muſt flow from very different roots: whilſt the chief point he

endeavours to fix, That Syria *from its name*, was peculiarly devoted to Solar worſhip, falls to the ground; neither of the names, *Sham* nor *Syria*, having the ſmalleſt reference to the Sun. *Sham*, by which that country is moſt generally known to the Aſiatics, is a root ſo little connected with the Hebrew *Shemeſh* or the Arabic *Shems*, that no inflexions of thoſe languages can ever poſſibly produce the moſt remote analogy. *Sham*, *Shamet*, or *Shamé* implies *Black*, a *black mole upon the face*, *the left hand*, &c. and this laſt ſignification is that which is in general received by the Arabians and the Syrians themſelves: a name, they ſay, this country obtained, at the ſame time that Arabia Felix was called *Yemen*, which implies the *right hand*; the one lying to the right and the other to the left of the *Kaaba*, or temple of Mecca. This is the derivation adopted, in particular, yet with ſome doubt, by the celebrated Sultan *Abulfeda*, who reigned in Syria about the middle of the fourteenth century; and wrote, in Arabic, an *Univerſal Hiſtory*, and a *Syſtem of Geography*. Upon this etymology, Mr. Bryant obſerves, "Abul-"feda ſuppoſes, that Syria is called Scham "quaſi ſiniſtra. It was called Sham for the "ſame reaſon that it was called Syria. Συρος "γαρ ὁ ἡλιος the ſame as Σαμιος. Perſæ Συρη

" Deum vocant."— " Syria is called at this " day Souriſtan. Souris from Sehor, Sol, " Σειριος of Greece." But here, inſtead of correcting one error, our learned author has made two: becauſe were there even ſuch a word in Perſian, as above aſſerted, denoting the Sun; the Aſiatics would hardly write *Souri* or *Souriſtan* from the root *Sehor*; as *h* is a radical, and cannot be diſpenſed with. Abulfeda's etymology obviouſly rejects the Sun; as a man of his learning and penetration could not poſſibly have been perplexed about the origin of his kingdom's name, had he ſeen any rational ground of derivation from that luminary. Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that the idea which he has followed, unleſs more exactly defined, is by no means convincing: for neither *Yemen* nor *Sham* appear to have any poſitive relation, in point of Right or Left, to the Kaaba; which muſt depend entirely upon the poſition a perſon may take when conſidering this temple. If you view it towards the north, theſe countries are undoubtedly found in the above poſitions; but turning towards the ſouth, they are reverſed; and in the Eaſtern and Weſtern directions, they are neither right nor leſt.— With regard to Syria I ſhall here hazard an etymology, which, whether it may be eſteemed juſt or not, flows at leaſt from the ſimple

untortured meaning of the word. This country has been ever famed for *roſes*; the Damaſc roſe is celebrated even by our Engliſh poets. *Suri* in Perſian denotes a ſpecies of this flower, beautiful in colour and delicate in ſmell: *Suriſtan*, or the *land of roſes*, might conſequently, with much propriety, have been given by the Perſians, to a country which produced them in ſuch perfection and abundance. *Stan* or *iſtan*, the adjunct, is, like our *ſhire*, ſometimes added, ſometimes dropt; *Fars* or *Farſiſtan*, *Suri* or *Suriſtan*, being indifferently uſed, as we ſay *Wilts* or *Wiltſhire*. Συρια is therefore pure Perſian, with the Greek termination; and through this medium comes our Syria, ſubſtituting only *y* for the Greek *υ*, upon the ſame principles with other ſimilar words adopted from that tongue (as ſyſtem from Συστημα); the Engliſh pronunciation having no ſound preciſely correſponding with the Greek *ypſilon*. Having had occaſion to mention *ſtan* or *iſtan* above, it may not be improper to point out ſome miſtaken concluſions which Mr. Bryant has drawn from this termination. "*Tin*, he obſerves, ſignified a kind of high "altar; that it prevailed amongſt the ancient "Hetrurians; that it formed the compounds "*Numantinus*, *Palatinus*, *Aventinus*; and that "it appears to be the ſame with *tan* in the

" Eaſt, which occurs occaſionally in *Mogulis-*
" *tan*, *Indos-tan*, *Pharſis-tan*, *Chuſis-tan*."
In regard to the Roman examples, it ſeems to be ſtraining, to the utmoſt, etymological refinement, to make any thing more of them than mere poſſeſſive adjectives; as theſe names appear to have no more title to any meaning of myſtery, than *Alexandrine* from *Alexander*, *legatine* from *legat*: but with reſpect to the Aſiatic illuſtrations, which are produced in ſupport of this ingenious theory, they have poſitively not the leaſt foundation; neither *tan* nor *tin*, in this ſenſe, being even known in any Eaſtern dialect, as will be more fully explained in the notes.

As I apprehend enough will appear, in the foregoing obſervations, to point out the comprehenſive utility of the Arabic and Perſian languages in every diſcuſſion of high antiquity: and as this preliminary diſſertation is merely deſigned to touch generally upon ſuch topics as may have a tendency to throw light upon the ſubject at large; the bounds and intention of this ſketch will not permit me to enter into a more minute inveſtigation of Mr. Bryant's very learned and valuable work. Some ſlight obſervations on other particles will be found in the notes; and with them I ſhall, for the preſent, cloſe my philological

remarks. I wiſh, however, it may not be underſtood, that I place any uncommon weight on the definitions which I have any where offered; by ſuppoſing them to be the poſitive origin of the proper names to which they are applied. My chief purpoſe has been ſimply to ſhow, that the ſignifications brought from the Arabic and Perſian languages are expreſſive; and may eaſily, without violence, juſtify a poſſibility of their having been ſo employed. But I am too ſenſible of the uncertainty which muſt always accompany every ſimilar conjecture, to conſider them on higher ground than points of mere curioſity, and incentives to deeper inveſtigation. How many obſcure circumſtances, known only to the founders, have concurred in giving names to places? How difficult is it to determine, whether they were denominated from Chiefs, from Events, or from Peculiar Qualities of Situation? and how many have derived names from more Ancient Structures, to which they bore a reſemblance merely in ſome ſubordinate circumſtance; that left not a ray to trace the great original meaning? Innumerable examples might be brought: but I ſhall confine myſelf to one obvious inſtance. The *Pantheon of Rome* was dedicated *To all the Gods*; and its Grecian name was perfectly deſcriptive of

the deſign. Its architecture was pleaſing; future artiſts admired it; and domes aroſe in diſtant countries conſecrated to any thing but gods. What a noble field of critical inveſtigation might not the *Pantheons* of the *Eſcurial* and of *London* furniſh, therefore, to antiquaries, two thouſand years hence; could we ſuppoſe, for a moment, the *Pantheon of Agrippa* to be forgotten; and the languages and hiſtory of Greece and Rome to be then as completely involved in darkneſs, as thoſe of high antiquity are to the reſearches of modern times. [P]

Upon the whole, an able general will make admirable diſpoſitions even on bad grounds. Mr. Bryant's arguments will ever command reſpect; but the ſtations he has choſen muſt, in my humble opinion, baffle all his ſkill to defend. Without an acquaintance with thoſe Eaſtern tongues, all analyſis of Eaſtern names muſt be completely fanciful: for whilſt numbers of words, which may be expreſſed perfectly alike in European characters, have roots and meanings totally different; others, which, in the eye of a ſtranger to the dialects, may bear no reſemblance, will claim the ſame radical origin, and poſſeſs little variation of ſenſe. Widely differing, therefore, as thoſe Eaſtern inflexions are from the genius of European

tongues, it muſt be evident, even to thoſe who have never made them an object of ſtudy, that the ſame principles which might guide an enquirer through the etymologies of the one claſs, muſt, in general, palpably miſlead his reſearches in the other. It will hardly be conſidered, at the ſame time, as a ſubſtantial ground of defence, for this ingenious gentleman, to advance arguments, ſimilar to thoſe he has already uſed in reſpect to the Hebrew: "I do not, ſays he, deduce them (i. e. ety-"mologies) from the Hebrew. And though "there may have been, of old, a great ſimi-"litude between that language and thoſe of "Egypt, Cutha, and Canaan: yet they were "all different tongues. There was once but "one language among the ſons of men."— Let it be admitted, that there was one great original language, whence the Hebrew, the Arabic, and all the loſt and living dialects of antiquity were deſcended; is it not rational to conclude, that a conſiderable part of thoſe tongues, which ſtill exiſt, did actually pre-exiſt in that aboriginal language: and that the variety of loſt idioms, which, in early times, prevailed in Lower Aſia and Egypt, were either the immediate derivatives from that language, or dialects of its moſt diffuſive branches? [q]

THOSE tongues in particular which Mr. Bryant mentions, if they ever did live, have certainly long ſince expired: where then ſhall we ſearch for a diſcovery of their characteriſtic traces? where but in the Hebrew, in the Arabic, in the Syriac, in the Perſic; which were unqueſtionably ſpoken in the ſame or in the ſurrounding countries; and either gave them birth, were derived from them, or claimed one common ſource. Can any ſtronger preſumption be furniſhed of the truth or probability of this poſition, with regard eſpecially to the Arabic and the Perſian, than the unconſtrained meanings which have been brought from thoſe languages for almoſt every radical particle, choſen by this learned gentleman as the baſis of his ſyſtem? Could this be the effect of chance? Is it not a ſtriking proof of their antiquity and utility? And do not ſuch etymons carry far more forcible conviction to our underſtanding, than dark and unſatisfactory derivation from unknown tongues? A ſyſtem of evidence, which proves either too much or nothing at all: for if one writer is allowed to roam through the regions of fancy, and fix arbitrary interpretations to a favourite claſs of words, another and another have an equal right: and every ingenious critic may then, like Archimedes of old, require only

ſome tranſmundane ſtation on which to rear his engines; in order to ſhake to pieces the reaſon of man, as that famous Syracuſan boaſted he could have done our globe; had another world been found on which to fix his great mechanic powers.

CHAP. III.

SECT. I.

Obſervations on Eaſtern manners. Conjectures on channels through which Eaſtern cuſtoms may have flowed into Europe. Improbability of the expedition of Oden from the Euxine to Scandinavia. Tartary the great officina gentium *of the barbarous invaders of the Roman empire. Miſtakes of our greateſt writers with regard to the Tartars. An example brought from Monteſquieu.*

TO touch ſlightly on the extenſive ſubject of Eaſtern manners; and to trace, in a few inſtances, their probable influence on thoſe of modern Europe, will now be the ſubject of a ſhort enquiry. I am ſenſible that we may refine too much, by deriving every reſemblance of cuſtoms in one country from the apparent counter part in another. In different quarters of the world, a ſimilarity of

habit has been diſcovered amongſt people, in other reſpects wholly diſſimilar: and mankind, in parallel ſituations, will often think alike, without the leaſt communication of ſentiment. We may not, at the ſame time, reaſon always juſtly, in looking only to the era of great events for the influx of novel cuſtoms. We are ſtunned by the rolling of a torrent, whilſt the humbler ſtream glides unnoticed by; and many circumſtances may have been placed to the account of revolution and conqueſt, which poſſibly originated from ſimpler cauſes, and flowed in by leſs perceptible channels. How far the following theory may be found juſt, will depend therefore upon its probable co-incidence with the hiſtory and habits of mankind: in ſuch remote enquiries we can hardly hope for more.

ROMANTIC Fiction has long been conſidered as of Eaſtern origin; and many ſyſtems have been framed to fix the period of its introduction into Europe. The *Saracen Conqueſt of Spain*, and the *Cruzades*, have been chiefly built upon; and the hypotheſis of *Oden's flight from the Euxine to Scandinavia*, has of late been adopted by an intelligent and pleaſing writer, to account for its early prevalence amongſt our Gothic anceſtors. It is certainly evident, that not only Romance, but many

cuſtoms and modes of thinking, appparently Aſiatic, were found amongſt thoſe fierce invaders, before their irruption into the Roman empire: yet, as there is no probability in the tale of Oden, I ſhall, after aſſigning a few reaſons for refuſing my aſſent to this wonderful expedition, hazard ſome conjectures on the channels, through which thoſe characteriſtic Eaſtern manners may have flowed into our Weſtern regions. [b]

MANY learned Northern Antiquaries, from traditions in old Runic poems, and other ſuſpicious materials, have framed a hiſtorical ſyſtem with regard to their great hero Oden; which, though evidently intended to heighten the character of that famous Scandinavian lawgiver, ſeems indeed the moſt ſevere of ſatires. Oden, they ſay, was the chief of a Sarmatian tribe, inhabiting the banks of the *Lake Meotis*; or, according to others, the country between the Euxine and Caſpian Seas, now called *Gurjeſtan* or *Georgia*; who, terrified at the progreſs of the Roman arms, after the defeat of Mithridates by Pompey, abandoned his country, at the head of a vaſt body of his people, and ſettled in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and other Scandinavian diſtricts: where he laid the foundations of that power, which, in after-ages, overwhelm-

ed the Roman empire. But if the *Palus Meotis* is fixed as the dominions of Oden, even the din of war could hardly have reached his ear: whilſt the impreſſion made upon the countries between the ſeas was too ſlight to have alarmed the moſt effeminate of nations. Pompey was but a ſhort time at Colchis: Mithridates had fled before his arrival. The conqueſt of that country was not his object: he had more important views. He left it almoſt immediately; and marched againſt Tigranes into Armenia. The Iberians and Albanians, the old inhabitants of Georgia, inſtead of flying, laid many ambuſcades to harraſs him. On the defeat of Tigranes, he returned to chaſtiſe thoſe people for daring to inſult the Roman arms. They again oppoſed him; but afterwards ſued for peace; which he granted, without any ſeverity of condition. Pompey proceeded immediately againſt the Syrians and Medes; and we hear of him no more in thoſe parts. The Romans, unlike the barbarian invaders of their empire, who marked their route with deſolation, though an ambitious, were by no means a cruel enemy. A nominal obedience to the ſenate was often all they required, from thoſe diſtricts in particular which ſkirted their dominions: and protection was ever the reward of ſubmiſſion.

Whence then could originate a terror ſo dreadful, as to frighten a people, not completely puſillanimous, from a country hardly attacked; capable of great natural defence; interſected in various directions by rugged mountains and extenſive foreſts; and hurry them from the mild latitude of 42, to the degree of 57 north: a region to them unknown; barren, bleak, and of a ſeverity of climate, which, even now, with all the advantage of cultivation, muſt chill to inaction the conſtitution of a Southern Aſiatic? Would it not have been flying, at the ſame time, from the mere echo of war, to encounter difficulties almoſt unſurmountable? To have pierced to the frozen latitude of Scandinavia, over mountains, and rivers, and ſeas; through woods, and marſhes, and hardy ſavages; implies a degree of perſevering intrepidity, widely differing from that abject timidneſs which firſt induced them to fly. There is a ſtriking difference, let it be remembered, between emigration and flight; between the enthuſiaſm and animation which muſt poſſeſs a body of adventurers departing in queſt of plunder and new diſcoveries, and the trembling fugitives from imaginary alarms. A fearleſſneſs of danger will diſtinguiſh the firſt; a wretched deſpondency will mark the other. Yet in

this tale, thoſe oppoſite characters muſt have been found in the ſame people; and Oden and his tribe, from deſpicable cowards, muſt ſuddenly have been transformed to paragons of heroiſm. But Nature rejects the idea; and Hiſtory ſhould reject it too. We err when we take it from the province of Romance. We ought to conſider it in the light of a mere Scaldic fable, invented to trace the origin of *Gothic* and *Roman* enmity; as the far more probable fiction of *Dido* and *Æneas* was ſuppoſed to account for the irreconcileable antipathy between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The epoch of the expedition ſeems, at the ſame time, to bring Oden too far down. He is celebrated as a deity in Runic Odes of very ancient date. The Gods of every barbarous country are generally carried up to the higheſt periods of ſociety. The era of this perſonage, whether real or imaginary, muſt apparently be of more remote antiquity. A mere modern would hardly have been the object of ſuch early and enthuſiaſtic worſhip. [e]

THE great *officina gentium*, whence ſuch myriads of barbarians have at different periods poured into the more cultivated regions of the earth, appears, with every probability, to have been *Tartary:* tho' our greateſt writers, following Jornandez, the Gothic abridger of

Caſſiodorus, have looked only to Scandinavia, and the Northern parts of Germany, for thoſe bodies of fierce warriors, who, in the early ages of Chriſtianity, overturned the government, and changed the manners of Europe. The *Tartars*, *Scythians*, or *Turanians* (under which general names the hiſtorians of different nations have comprehended the inhabitants of that immenſe tract, ſtretching from 53° to 130° Eaſt longit. and from about 39° to 80° North lat.) have from the oldeſt times been remarked for a roving, irregular, martial life. People, whoſe riches centered in cattle, who wandered for paſture from diſtrict to diſtrict, could in conſequence have no attachment to a ſpot. That *amor patriæ*, ſo conſpicuous in the Hottentot, in the Laplander, and in the wild inhabitant of every barren rock, has never been diſcovered in men of this deſcription. Attached to his tribe, and glorying in an extenſive line of anceſtors, the *natale ſolum* is to the Tartar an object of the moſt perfect indifference; and to abandon it, in the company of his friends, a circumſtance rather of choice than regret. Theſe great outlines have accordingly marked the operations of this extraordinary people from the moſt ancient times. Without thoſe reſtraints on matrimony, which are found in

more civilized communities, their numbers had naturally a prodigious increaſe; and as they deſpiſed the idea of cultivating the ground, the ſame extent of country which could have maintained thouſands of huſbandmen, was found often inſufficient for hundreds of roaming paſtors. Emigrations alone could remedy this inconvenience. A celebrated warrior had only to proclaim, therefore, his intention of invading ſome neighbouring ſtate or more diſtant country. He was immediately joined by the chiefs of many hords. Chance, oftner than deſign, might ſhape their courſe; to the South, to the North, to the Eaſt, to the Weſt: for every quarter of the globe has at different times been the theatre of Tartar eſtabliſhment or plunder. The ancient annals of the Perſians are entirely employed in commemorating their numerous wars with the Turanians beyond the Gihon. China and Hindoſtan have often felt their fury. Whilſt Jengiz Khan and Tamerlane, at the head of their bold and hardy ſubjects, approached nearer to univerſal monarchy than any conquerors of ancient or modern times. [d]

THAT the Weſt muſt have been the object of Tartar invaſion, as well as the Eaſt and South, there can be little ground to queſtion. Theſe people poſſeſs, as we may obſerve, the

whole interior almoſt of the Aſiatic and European continent. In a conſtant ſtate of action and re-action, hiſtory informs us, that they have burſt repeatedly upon every adjacent country. Like ſubterraneous vapours, when rarified beyond a certain degree, they have at times acquired a great expanſive force; and the violence of the exploſion in one part, would be generally in the ratio of the reſiſtance in others. In the vigour of the Roman and Perſian powers, they were often repulſed from their frontiers; but they would not always return. Without ſucceſs, without plunder, that would have been an indelible diſgrace. They might then have ſtruck to the Weſt or to the North, where, finding countries more thinly peopled; and the few inhabitants not only ſtrangers to the art of war, but unprotected by fortified towns; the oppoſition they might encounter, would in general be inſufficient to check their progreſs. Meeting with no rich ſpoils in thoſe countries, which could give a ſplendor to their expedition amongſt their countrymen, they would often be induced rather to ſettle in their conqueſts than to go back: and as there would be ſufficient territory for the invaders and the invaded, enmity would ſoon give way to intermarriages and ſocial intercourſe. The old

inhabitants would adopt by degrees ſome of the manners and beliefs of the Eaſtern ſtrangers: and theſe, in return, falling in with habits and ideas peculiar to the aboriginal people; a few generations would naturally incorporate them; and form in time thoſe various nations known by the names of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Lombards*, or *Franks*; whoſe roaming, rapacious, *Tartar* genius, became afterwards conſpicuous, in the deſtruction of the Roman empire. No ſolid objection, it may be here obſerved, againſt thoſe ancient Tartar invaſions, can be built upon the ſilence of hiſtory; as this ſilence is the natural conſequence of the unlettered manners both of the conquerors and the vanquiſhed: and whilſt the ſhocks were too remote to be felt in the more civilized ſtates of Europe, we cannot hope to find them in *their* annals. Tartary, China, or Tonqueen, may poſſibly, even in the preſent times, be the heatre of mighty revolutions unknown in Europe: and it is a moſt undoubted fact, that Jengiz Khan, who ſubdued almoſt every country in the world to the eaſtward of the Euphrates, was dead many years before the accidental curioſity of Marco Paolo, who viſited the court of his grandſon Coblai Khan in the year 1260, made Europe acquainted either with him or his dominions.

FROM the reſearches and opinions of many Northern antiquaries, the *Scandinavian Goths* are diſcovered to have been early compoſed of two diſtinct bodies of people: the firſt Aborigines; the other Strangers; who are ſaid to have poſſeſſed a degree of refinement, civilization, and ſcience, far ſuperior to the older inhabitants. Frequent alluſions are made to their Aſiatic origin. Their dreſs, their manners, their language, being in general diſtinguiſhed by ſome epithet deſcriptive of ſuperior elegance. It may poſſibly be objected, that *Refinement* and a *Tartar* are ideas extremely repugnant: yet every thing of this kind is merely comparative; and the more ſavage inhabitant of the North, who never till then knew a luxury of dreſs higher than the ſkin of an animal which he had killed, may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have admired whatever was, even in a ſmall degree, ſuperior to his own. But, in fact, the dreſs and equipage of the Tartar chiefs have been, in general, uncommonly ſplendid; and few circumſtances ſeem to have been leſs attended to, by ſome of our greateſt writers, than a proper diſtinction between the ruder and the more poliſhed people who fill the immenſe extent of Tartary. Men totally diſſimilar are grouped together, under one indiſcriminate character, merely becauſe

they are known in Europe by one general name: whilſt, among their numerous nations, a difference of character may prevail, not inferior perhaps to that which marks an *Engliſhman* from a *Frenchman*, a *Hollander* from a *Portugueſe*. [f]

NOTHING in nature can be more oppoſite than the *civilized Arabian* of *Mecca* to the *ferocious plunderer of the deſert*; and the *citizen* of *Samarcand* has few features in common with the *Tartar wanderer in the Northern wilds*: yet even the great Monteſquieu compares thoſe people without diſtinction; and draws concluſions which are by no means ſupported by their manners, their government, or the geography of their countries. In ſome parts of Tartary there are large and flouriſhing cities, fertile plains, and noble rivers: in others, deſerts, mountains, marſhes, and foreſts; yet, amongſt other poſitions, he ſays, "They have no towns; they have no foreſts, "and but few marſhes: their rivers are al- "moſt always frozen, and they dwell in an "immenſe plain." Theſe are poſitive aſſertions; and they are all equally groundleſs as poſitive: but Monteſquieu is here endeavouring to ſupport a ſyſtem; and ſyſtem is dangerous even to the ſoundeſt reaſoner. Can a region, containing above twenty millions of

ſquare miles, watered by ſuch rivers as the *Gihon*, the *Sihon*, the *Selenge*, and the *Aumur*; boaſting ſuch cities as *Samarcand*, *Bokhara*, *Caſhgar*, and *Caracorum*; cluſtered with foreſts; broken into mountains; inhabited by many different nations; diſtinguiſhed by every variety of ſoil, ſuperficies, and climate, be called, with propriety, *one immenſe plain*; or correſpond, in the moſt remote degree, with Monteſquieu's deſcription? The concluſions drawn too are as vague as the premiſes are unſubſtantial. The *wild Arabs* are a race of roaming thieves; the *wild Tartars*, in this profeſſional line, bear a pointed reſemblance of character. Between theſe, to ſupport an hypotheſis, he wiſhes to find a political contraſt. The *Arabs are free*; and he derives their freedom from their *Rocks*: the *Tartars* he chuſes to *make ſlaves*, and he gives them *an immenſe plain*. Yet if there is a being on earth, who enjoys every ſpecies of irregular liberty, it is the *wandering Tartar*. He is obedient to his chief in every circumſtance of war: but there ſubmiſſion ends. [s]

Every obſervation, indeed, on the habits of thoſe roving, daring people, ſtrikingly diſplays their love of liberty, and their ſimilitude of character, with the *old Gothic nations*. Their averſion to the culture of the ground;

their paſtoral life; their idleneſs; their eagerneſs for plunder, and martial excurſion; with many cuſtoms and beliefs, clearly Eaſtern; form altogether a chain of internal proofs, ſtronger perhaps than direct hiſtorical aſſertion. By many Northern writers, they are actually diſtinguiſhed from the more ancient inhabitants of *Scandinavia*, by the epithet of *Orientals:* and nothing can ſurely approach nearer in reſemblance than the original northern invaders of the Roman ſtates, and thoſe inundations, *immediately from Tartary*, who, under the names of *Alans* and *Huns*, led by the famous *Attila* and other bold chiefs, overwhelmed the empire, towards the cloſe of the fourth century, and gave a final blow to the chains of Roman ſervitude. [k]

SHOULD the foregoing obſervations, with others which will naturally ariſe in the further diſcuſſion of the ſubject, furniſh arguments of ſufficient force to ſupport the above hypotheſis, we ſhall eaſily account for one great channel, thro' which many circumſtances, originally Eaſtern, penetrated into the Hyperborean regions: where, with ſuch ſhades of variation, as might naturally be expected from a difference of climate and temperament, they ſowed the ſeeds of that ſtile of manners, which finds nothing ſimilar to it in the characteriſtics of Greece and Rome. [l]

SECT. II.

Prevalence of the Feudal Syſtem in the Eaſt in early times. Traces of it in Perſia; in Arabia; in Hindoſtan; in Turkey; in Tartary. Apparently introduced into Germany and Scandinavia, by the Tartars, before the irruption of the Goths into the Roman ſtates.

THE Feudal Syſtem, which was introduced and diffuſed over Europe by the conquerors of the Roman power, produced, in a civil light, an alteration in laws, government, and habits, no leſs important than the diſmemberment of the empire by their arms. Our greateſt lawyers, hiſtorians, and antiquaries, whoſe object has been leſs to trace its origin than to mark its influence, have uniformly attributed this great foundation of the juriſprudence of modern Europe to the military policy of the Northern nations; and ſeem in general rather to have conſidered it as a conſequence of their ſituation, after their conqueſts; than as exiſting previous to their ir-

ruptions. It appears not only to have formed, however, their great ſyſtem of polity before the grand invaſion, but to have flouriſhed in the Eaſt with much vigour in very early times.

In Perſia, Tartary, India, and other Eaſtern countries, the whole detail of government, from the moſt ancient accounts down to the preſent hour, can hardly be defined by any other deſcription. We obſerve, in general, one Great King, to whom a number of ſubordinate princes pay homage and tribute: all deviation from this ſyſtem ſeeming merely temporary and accidental. Poſſeſſed of every eſſential power of royalty, the degree of dependence of theſe ſecondary kings, we find, has ever been proportioned to the vigour or imbecillity of the paramount ſovereign: for where no ſolid code of conſtitutional laws prevails, the brilliant or diſgraceful periods in the hiſtory of a people will generally depend upon the genius of one man. A great monarch will give to the component parts the appearance of one deſpotic whole; whilſt the approaches to diſobedience will ever be proportioned to the weakneſs of adminiſtration. Conſtantly recurring, however, to firſt principles, every variation of Oriental Rule preſents only, to our alternate view, an overgrown

empire, feebly governed, crumbling into independent kingdoms; and independent kingdoms again uniting, to form the empire of ſome more fortunate and enterprizing ſovereign.

A GENERAL view of the hiſtories of Eaſtern nations would, perhaps, ſufficiently ſupport the above poſitions; but I ſhall venture to offer a few particular authorities. The more ancient facts, it may be obſerved, like every remote event, will not admit of poſitive proof; but in tracing manners or modes of government, abſolute hiſtorical or chronological preciſion is by no means requiſite. The actions of one prince may be imputed to another; anachroniſms and miſnomers may abound; and the atchievements of twenty warriors may ſwell the renown of one hero: but no writer will attribute to his nation Cuſtoms and Ideas of Government, to which they or their anceſtors were ſtrangers; and againſt which the opinions of his fellow ſubjects muſt inſtantly and loudly revolt. When uncommon and great innovations happen, in the cuſtoms of a country, writers are careful to trace their origin, to fix their introduction, and to obſerve their influence. But when circumſtances, however intereſting, are ſimply mentioned, without particular obſervation or commentary, we may rationally conclude, that

ſuch cuſtoms are of high antiquity; and no more deſerving of ſpecial animadverſion than the general complexion, configuration, or temperament of their countrymen. The riſe and progreſs of the Feudal Syſtem in Europe is marked: it was an exotic plant; and it has, of conſequence, engaged the attention of our ableſt antiquaries. But in the Eaſt it is indigenous, univerſal, and immemorial: and the Eaſtern hiſtorians have never dreamt of inveſtigating its ſource, any more than the origin of regal government. Both have long been to them equally familiar; and the firſt extenſive monarchy gave probably a beginning to the firſt dependence of feudal chiefs. It may be thought too, that examples of this, or any other cuſtom, brought from events, ſubſequent to their introduction into Europe, can be no corroborative proof of their ſubſiſting in the Eaſt, previous to their appearance in the Weſt. But the leaſt attention to Oriental Manners will clearly ſhow, that the characteriſtic habits of thoſe people, even at this hour, are, in every reſpect, ſimilar to the moſt remote accounts: nor have we ground to believe, that (the Mohammedan religion and fire arms excepted) there is one ſingle cuſtom peculiar to the Perſians, the Arabians, or the Tartars, of the preſent day, which did

not prevail amongſt their anceſtors at a period too remote for human reſearch. With a wonderful predilection for their own ancient manners, they have a peculiar and invincible antipathy to thoſe of Europe. They are ſo oppoſite to their genius, to their hereditary prejudices, and to every idea political and religious, that no inſtance can be produced, perhaps, of one ſingle cuſtom originally European having ever been adopted by the Aſiatic nations: the Turks even, whoſe vicinity expoſes them moſt to Weſtern innovation, preſerving ſtill unchanged that remarkable diſtinction of character which they poſſeſſed before they croſſed the Boſphorus of Thrace. On this ground, therefore, I give no anecdotes as unqueſtioned truths: they are mentioned by Aſiatic hiſtorians; and I offer them ſimply as beliefs in original cuſtoms. We may not ſubſcribe to the apparition of Cæſar's ghoſt before the battle of Philippi; but we may reſt aſſured, that it would not have been recorded by Plutarch, had it not, in his time, been univerſally believed. *

Above 800 years before the Chriſtian era, an uſurper called Zohak, we are informed, reigned in Perſia. His government was oppreſſive, and became at length unſupportable. The citizens of Iſpahan flew to arms; and,

headed by a Blackſmith named Gao, attacked, defeated, and killed the Tyrant. Gao, after this victory, diſcovering the retreat of Feridoun, the heir to the crown, placed him on the throne; and received, in return, Iſpahan, with its dependencies, as a feudal principality. What truth may be in this remote event it is impoſſible to determine; but it is a generally recorded fact, that the Blackſmith's apron, ſaid to have been diſplayed by Gao, when marching againſt Zohak, as a banner, from the point of a ſpear, was taken by the Arabians at the battle of Cadeſſia, when they conquered Perſia in the year 636. It had been laid up in the treaſury of the Perſian kings, and was enriched with jewels to a prodigious value. It was conſidered as the great ſtandard and palladium of the empire; and was never carried to the field but on important emergencies, or when the king marched in perſon.—Roſtam is a hero whoſe prowefs is highly celebrated. He is equally the favourite of Hiſtory and Romance. He was a ſucceſsful general under the firſt kings of the Kaianian dynaſty; and received, in reward for his ſervices, the provinces of Sejeſtan and Zableſtan, as feudal appannages of the crown of Perſia: on the condition of marching a body of forces, as the exigencies of the ſtate might

require; but particularly to repulſe the inroads of the Tartars.—Babylonia, Syria, Aſſyria, and Media, as formerly obſerved, ſeem to have been merely feudatory kingdoms of the old Perſian empire.—Alexander the Great divided the Eaſtern provinces of Perſia amongſt the princes to whoſe families they had originally belonged. On this occaſion they received a banner from the hands of the conqueror, paid homage, and engaged to maintain a certain number of troops, upon a footing (ſays the author of the Tarikh Montekheb) ſomewhat reſembling the military vaſſals of the Ottoman empire, called *Sanjacs* and *Timars*. Theſe princes are called by the Mohammedan writes *Moloukul' Tawayif* (kings of the nations); and are by ſome conſidered as a particular dynaſty, between the Kaianians and the Aſhcanians, commonly called Arſacides by Europeans. They ſtrictly performed, it is added, their feudal engagements to Alexander; but on his death, as the Grecian commanders ſeized upon the Weſtern kingdoms, they alſo aſſumed an independency in their reſpective provinces. This account ſeems highly probable; as the ſucceſſors of Alexander, according both to the Eaſtern and Weſtern writers, ſoon loſt all ſovereignty to the eaſtward of the Tigris.

THE Tobba, or king of Arabia Felix, was the acknowledged paramount ſovereign in very old times of a number of tribes.—Moſt of the provinces of Arabia on the Perſian gulph, with thoſe ſtretching towards Babylonia, held of the Perſian kings of the Saſſanian dynaſty; who often appointed feudatory princes on the death or miſconduct of their predeceſſors.—The Khalif Almamon gave Khoraſan, which he himſelf held as a feudal ſovereignty under his father Haron Arraſhid, to his great general Thaher; where he ſoon after became independent, and founded the dynaſty of Thaherians.—Motamed, the fifteenth Khalif of the houſe of Abbas, gave, in the year 874, the great province of Mawarannahar, as a feudal government, to Naſſer ben Ahmed; which his brother and ſucceſſor Iſmael, eighteen years afterwards, erected into a monarchy, and founded the dynaſty of the Samanides.—Similar grants were made or extorted from ſucceeding Khalifs; ſo that partly by gift, partly by uſurpation, the Khalifat, from the middle of the ninth century, till its diſſolution in the year 1258, was in fact one immenſe feudatory empire: where every Sultan acknowledged the ſuperiority of the Khalif; but, like the great feudal chiefs in Europe, paid him juſt that degree of obedience which

each judged conſiſtent with his own intereſt. —A ſimilar ſyſtem prevails to the preſent hour in Hindoſtan; through a regular gradation of *Subahs*, *Nabobs*, *Foujdars*, *Killadars*, and other ſubordinate chiefs; who all conſider the *Great Mogul* as lord paramount of the empire.—In the Ottoman government there are many remarkable traces of the feudal ſyſtem; eſpecially in the Khan of the Crim Tartars, in the Wavyodes of Moldavia, Wallakhia, and other European diſtricts; in Algiers and other Barbary States; in the Sherif of Mecca; in ſeveral Sheiks or princes of Syria; as well as in the military fiefs, which, under the titles of *Sanjacs*, *Zayms*, and *Timariots*, are beſtowed with the expreſs condition of ſupporting bodies of men, but eſpecially of horſe, ready to take the field at the order of the Sultan.

In *Tartary* we ſee it ſtrong. Temujin, afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the more celebrated name of Jengiz Khan, was the ſon of a chief, who had ſeveral feudatories; yet he himſelf held of Thogrul, the Khan of Caracum, better known by the name of *Preſter John*. Thogrul, tho' a prince of great power, was ſtill ſubject to the emperor of Katha, the paramount of Tartary; who accordingly, in the true feudal ſtile, ſummoned him with his arriére vaſſals to aſſiſt in quelling a dangerous

rebellion. Thogrul, attended by young Temujin, obeyed; a deciſive victory was gained over the inſurgents; in which both behaved with ſo much gallantry, that the emperor created Thogrul *Vang Khan*, which is a high royal title; and gave Temujin a conſiderable command in his army. When Temujin, by his ſucceſs and abilities, had riſen to a great degree of power, about the year 1205 a grand council of the Tartar nations aſſembled. Nine of the chief Khans appeared at the rendezvous, each attended by his vaſſals. They diſplayed nine large banners of command. They placed Jengiz upon an eminence, with a piece of black felt-cloth under his feet. The ſpeaker of the aſſembly addreſſed him; he recognized him as emperor in the name of the whole; and told him, if merciful and juſt, that God would proſper his government; if not, his perſon and memory would become black and deſpicable as the felt on which he ſtood. A prophet called *Cokza*, and ſurnamed *the Image of God*, declared, that he had received a revelation from heaven, ordering Temujin to take, from that time, the name of *Jengiz*, which ſignifies *The moſt Great*. The Khans then advanced and paid him homage, bending the knee nine times; the nobles followed; and then the body of the people,

making the ſame number of genuflections, proclaimed him emperor with loud acclamations. We find ſome variation of ceremony in the inauguration of Tamerlane in the year 1369. He mounted a magnificent throne: he wore a brilliant crown: he girded himſelf publicly with his ſword: his feudatory princes acknowledged his ſovereignty by a profuſion of precious ſtones which they ſhowered over his head; whilſt a holy man put into his hands a drum, and a ſtandard, as the inſignia of imperial authority. [f]

EVERY thing in the hiſtories of thoſe princes is indeed completely feudal. Before their great expeditions, we find them iſſuing orders for the attendance of their great vaſſals, with their contingents of troops. And we alſo obſerve a conſtitutional Parliament or Meeting of Eſtates: who, amongſt other privileges, claimed that of trying great offenders. Artok Buga, one of the grandſons of Jengiz Khan, having revolted againſt his brother the emperor Coblai Khan, was at length defeated: but Coblai did not puniſh him, till he had called an Aſſembly of the States; where he was tried and condemned to be ſhut up between four walls, made of the tragacanth tree, where he lived twelve months. A feudatory prince of Herat, called Pir Ali, being

ſuſpected of a deſign to revolt ſoon after Tamerlane's inauguration, was cited to appear before the General Aſſembly: he evaded the ſummons till he had fortified his capital: upon which a decree was paſſed ſimilar to the Ban of the Empire in Germany; and Tamerlane being deſired to reduce him to obedience, he was accordingly put to death in conſequence of this ſentence. It is needleſs to multiply examples: but it may not be improper to obſerve, that thoſe General Meetings, called *Kouriltai*, bear ſo near a reſemblance to the Diets of the Gothic nations, that a ſtrong additional argument may thence be drawn to ſupport the hypotheſis of the early Tartar eſtabliſhments in Germany and Scandinavia. Jengiz and Tamerlane, powerful and deſpotic as they were, held many of thoſe Diets. The Great Khans, tho' generally choſen from the ſons of the late ſovereign, were elected by them; and primogeniture was of little conſequence. Jengiz Khan, for example, nominated his ſecond ſurviving ſon Octay, as his ſucceſſor: but though uncommon deference was paid to the will of a man whom the Tartars almoſt adored, the new emperor was not acknowledged, as ſuch, till the meeting of the Great Aſſembly two years afterwards; where, upon his expreſſing ſome reluctance to accept

of the imperial dignity, his elder and younger brothers, Jagathay and Tuli, taking him by the hands, inſtalled him on the throne, and ſaluted him *Khan*. Olug Nuvin, the youngeſt of Jengiz Khan's ſons, as maſter of the houſhold, preſented him with a cup of wine: and all the people making nine genuflections to their ſovereign, and three to the ſun, hailed him Emperor. [s]

It may not be unworthy of remark, that the ſituation of *Olug Nuvin* is a curious inſtance of a ſingular cuſtom, long prevalent in Tartary, as well as among the Northern nations; and even to be found in our old Saxon tenures, under the deſcription of *Borough Engliſh*: where the youngeſt ſon ſucceeds to his father in preference to his elder brothers. Sir William Blackſtone, after mentioning the opinions of Littleton and other eminent lawyers, in regard to the origin of this ſtrange cuſtom, conjectures, with great judgment, that it might be deduced from the Tartars. Amongſt thoſe people, the elder ſons, as they grew to man's eſtate, migrated from their father with a certain portion of cattle; and the youngeſt ſon only remaining at home, became in conſequence the heir to his father's houſe, and all his remaining poſſeſſions. Jengiz Khan had, agreeably to this idea, given to

his four eldeſt ſons great governments and great offices; but Olug always attended his perſon. During the interval of forty days, therefore, from the meeting of the Great Tartar Aſſembly, till the inſtallation of Octay Khan, this youngeſt brother ſeems to have been acknowledged by him and the other princes as Lord of the family: he was a kind of public adminiſtrator during this interregnum; and preſented the Great Khan with the cup on his enthronement, as the higheſt token of Eaſtern hoſpitality, which the maſter of a family can ſhow to a gueſt. [h]

In the above outlines, we can obſerve ſeveral ſtrong traces of Gothic government. We can perceive the ruder draughts of States General, of Parliaments, of Juries; and, in the circumſtances of the Electors and the Elected, ſome ſtriking features of that ſyſtem, which ſtill unites the great Germanic Body. We can ſee, in the bent of national genius, the ſtrongeſt marks of wild freedom; with a regular gradation of military vaſſals: and altho' in their own country, from a general attachment to paſtoral life, Fiefs, or poſſeſſions in land, formed no part of Tartar juriſprudence or property; yet when they ſettled in the Weſt, a difference of ſituation would naturally ſuggeſt an alteration adapted to it. The more

ſteady temper of the native Scandinavians and Germans would modify the roaming Scythian ſpirit; a ſuperior attachment to a particular ſpot would naturally ariſe. As the country became more populous, ground would become more valuable; and what was formerly in common, to avoid diſputes, would then be portioned off. A wiſh to defend this property from new inroads might ſoon produce a more permanent and ſolid ſyſtem of ſubordination. And the more irregular ideas of the Tartars, improved by territorial poſſeſſion, pave thus, by degrees, the way for that more refined ſyſtem, ſo peculiarly adapted to the ſituation of ſettling invaders; which, in the fifth and following centuries, almoſt univerſally took place in Europe.

SECT. III.

Eaſtern notions of Supernatural Beings. Idea of the Peri or Faery Syſtem. The doctrine of enchantments originally Perſian. Belief in Guardian Angels. Influence of this belief on their government and private life. Taliſmans, amulets, faſcination.

NEXT to the Feudal Syſtem, and other maxims of civil government, which regulated the property and politics of the middle ages, few ſpeculative ſubjects are more worthy of our attention than thoſe novel ideas of Supernatural Beings, which ruled their minds with moſt reſiſtleſs force. The univerſal belief in various orders of ſuperhuman creatures, has prevailed in many parts of Aſia long before the era of authentic hiſtory: and ſuch complete poſſeſſion have they taken of Eaſtern imagination, that the moſt ſerious, as well as the moſt fanciful compoſitions are filled with perpetual alluſions to thoſe imaginary beings. To underſtand Homer, we muſt have a previous knowledge of the dignities and attributes

of the Grecian Deities: to comprehend the writers of the Eaſt, we ſhould have an acquaintance with the mythology and popular beliefs of Eaſtern nations. For this purpoſe, I have thrown into the Dictionary ſlight ſketches of what ſeemed moſt peculiarly Aſiatic; and ſhall here bring thoſe remarks under one point of view; with ſuch additional obſervations as could not, with propriety, find any alphabetical place; or which may appear neceſſary to illuſtrate and connect the whole.

THE fabulous Aſiatic ages ſtretch far beyond the creation of man. They ſuppoſe the world to have been repeatedly peopled by creatures of different formation, who were ſucceſſively annihilated or baniſhed for diſobedience to the Supreme Being. An Eaſtern Romance introduces the hero Caherman in converſation with the monſtrous bird or griffon *Simurgh*; who tells him, that ſhe had already lived to ſee the earth ſeven times filled with creatures, and ſeven times a perfect void: that the age of Adam would be ſeven thouſand years; when the race of man would be extinguiſhed, and their place ſupplied by beings of another form and more perfect nature; with whom the earth would end: that ſhe had then ſeen twelve periods, each of ſeven thouſand years; but was denied the know-

ledge of the duration of her own exiſtence. Thoſe beings, who inhabited the globe immediately before the creation of man, they call *Peris* and *Dives*; and they form a perfect contraſt. The Peris are deſcribed as beautiful and benevolent; and though guilty of errors which had offended Omnipotence, they are ſuppoſed, in conſequence of their penitence, ſtill to enjoy diſtinguiſhed marks of divine favour. The Dives, on the contrary, are pictured as hideous in form, and malignant in mind; differing only from the infernal demons in not being confined to hell; but roaming for ever around the world to ſcatter diſcord and wretchedneſs among the ſons of Adam. In the *Peris* we find a wonderful reſemblance to the *Faeries* of the European nations: and the *Dives* or *Genies* differ little from the *Giants* and *Savages* of the middle ages: the adventures of the Eaſtern heroes breathe all the wildneſs of atchievement recorded of the knights in Gothic romance; and the doctrine of enchantments, in both, ſeems to claim one common ſource. The various creatures who preceded Adam, were ſuppoſed to have been governed by a ſucceſſion of ſeventy-two *Solimans:* the laſt of whom is ſurnamed *Jan ben Jan.* This monarch had offended Omnipotence; and the angel Hares was ſent from

heaven to chaſtiſe him. A war enſued, which terminated in the defeat of the pre-adamite king; and Hares governed in his room. But this angel becoming intoxicated with power, Adam was created; and all the earth ordered to obey him. Hares, compoſed of the element of fire, ſcorned ſubmiſſion to a clay-formed creature. He rebelled againſt the Divine will; and was joined in his revolt by the Dives: but the Peris, acquieſcing in the mandates of heaven, became from that time the friends of mankind. Hares, with his chief followers, were curſed by God, and doomed to a long period of torment in the infernal regions: but the other Dives were allowed to range over the earth, as a ſecurity for the future obedience of man. The reſidence of thoſe ideal beings was imagined to be on the mountain of Kaf; which, in the Eaſt, was long ſuppoſed to ſurround the earth, as a ring does the finger: the globe being fancied to reſt on one great emerald or ſaphire; the reflection from which gave the azure appearance to the ſky: whilſt its movements were productive of volcanoes, earthquakes, and all the convulſive phenomena of nature. The whole of this viſionary country is called *Jinniſtan*; and the reſpective empires are di-

vided into many kingdoms and cities. Thoſe of the Peris bear the names of *Shadukam* (pleaſure and deſire), *Gouherabad* (the city of jewels), *Amberabad* (the city of Ambergris): the metropolis of the Dives being called *Ahermanabad* (the city of the Principle of Evil); where the enchanted caſtle, palace, and gallery of the Dive king Arzſhenk is the ſubject of much fable. The Peris and Dives are ſuppoſed to be formed of the element of fire: they live long, but are ſubject to death; and though poſſeſſed of ſuperhuman powers, have in many reſpects the ſentiments and paſſions of mankind. They wage inceſſant war; and when the Dives make priſoners of the Peris, they ſhut them up in iron cages, and hang them on the higheſt trees; to expoſe them to public view, and to every chilling blaſt. Here they are viſited by their companions, who bring them the choiceſt odours. Perfume is the only food of the Peris; and whilſt it ſerves as nouriſhment to the captives, it has alſo the virtue of keeping at a diſtance the inſulting Dives; whoſe malignancy of nature can endure nothing fragrant. [b]

WHEN the Peris are in danger of being overpowered by their foes, they always ſolicit the aſſiſtance of ſome mortal hero; which furniſhes a wonderful fund of fanciful machinery

for Eaſtern Poetry and Romance. To put the Knight on a footing of proweſs with thoſe gigantic Dives, he is generally armed with enchanted taliſmans; and mounted on ſome tremendous monſter. One of the moſt famous adventurers in Faery-land is Tahmuras, an ancient Perſian king. The Peris honour him with a ſplendid embaſſy; and the Dives, who dread him, ſend alſo another. He conſults the Griffon Simurgh: ſhe ſpeaks all languages and knows future events. She counſels him to aid the Peris; informs him of the dangers he will encounter; and gives him inſtructions how to proceed. She offers her aſſiſtance to conduct him to Jinniſtan; and, as a token of friendſhip, pulls ſome feathers from her breaſt, with which he ornaments his helmet. He then mounts the Simurgh; and, armed with the buckler of Jan ben Jan, croſſes the dark abyſs, which mortals cannot paſs without ſupernatural aſſiſtance. He arrives at Kaf: he defeats Arzſhenk; and alſo another Dive, ſtill more fierce, called Demruſh; whoſe reſidence is deſcribed as a gloomy cavern, where he is ſurrounded with vaſt piles of wealth, amaſſed by plunder. Here Tahmuras, amongſt other rich ſpoils, finds a fair captive, the Peri Merjan; whom the Dive had carried off, and her brothers had long

ſearched for in vain. He chains the vanquiſhed demons in the center of the mountain; ſets Merjan at liberty; and then, in the true ſpirit of Knight-errantry, flies, at the Peri's requeſt, to the attack of another powerful Dive, called Houdkonz; but here Tahmuras falls.—In the *Shah namé*, the celebrated Roſtam, many ages afterwards, engages the Dive Arzſhenk, who had eſcaped from the chains of Tahmuras; and kills him, after a fierce battle. Arzſhenk is there painted with a body ſomewhat human, and the head of a bull, which Roſtam ſtrikes off at a blow.—The Dive Munheras is wounded with an arrow in the mouth by Gerſhab, the laſt king of the Piſhdadian dynaſty; and he is afterwards put to death by Sohrab the ſon of Roſtam. In the firſt encounter he has the head of a hog; but in the next he is pictured as a bifrons; one ſide reſembling the head of a lion, the other that of a wild boar. Roſtam, who is conſidered as the Hercules of Perſia, among many other Dives, dragons, and enchanters, whom he deſtroys, kills a demon called the Dive Sepid: and Father Angelo mentions having ſeen a ſtupendous monument in the midſt of a plain, near the city of Fehelion, between Shuſter and Shiraz, ſuppoſed to be commemorative of this combat; which was cut into

a quadrangular fortification, with ſuch regularity, that it had the appearance of being formed of one entire ſtone.

THIS Diſſertation would ſwell, however, to a diſproportioned bulk, were I to enter into a detail of the various wonderful adventures with which the Eaſtern Poems and Romances abound. I give theſe few outlines, merely to ſhow the general prevalence of Romantic Ideas in Aſia: but eſpecially in *Perſia*, the great claſſic ground of Eaſtern Fiction; and the centre whence it ſeems to have ſpread to almoſt every ſurrounding and diſtant country. So ſingular indeed is the reſemblance, in numberleſs inſtances, between the wild imagery of this ſtile of fabling, with that which prevailed in after-times in *Europe*, that we muſt either ſuppoſe, in the writers, a wonderful coincidence of luxuriant imagination, or conclude, that the Weſt muſt have borrowed from the Eaſt. I ſhall not inſiſt upon *Turpin's Twelve Peers*, upon the Armorican, Spaniſh, and other European Romances; where the ſimilarity of features is irregularly ſtriking: but even in the nobler works of *Arioſto*, *Taſſo*, and *Spencer*, we can diſcover the counter part of all their fanciful machinery in the fictions of *Perſia*. The *Ipogriffo*, on which *Aſtolfo* flies to heaven; and the *magic ring* of *Bra-*

dantè in *Orlando Furioſo*: the *many-headed monſter* of *Dueſſa*; and the *ſhield* of Prince *Arthur* in the *Faery Queen*: with the various enchantments of *Armida*: and *Iſmeno* in *Gieruſalemme Liberata*; may all be traced to Oriental origin: whilſt the *Peri Merjan* has much the air of being the *Faery Morgain*, who conveyed away our King Arthur, after the battle of Camelon; and with whom, according to the old Britiſh Romances, he now reſides in Faery land with great happineſs and ſplendor. [4]

Some ingenious writers have conſidered this ſpecies of fiction as originating among the Arabians: but there are many reaſons for believing, that it was abſolutely unknown to them before the era of the Hejra; and that they did not adopt that mode of writing till long after the Perſian conqueſt. Mohammed, as before obſerved, was uncommonly alarmed at the firſt romantic glimmerings, which were brought from Perſia by the merchant Naſſer. He was afraid leſt the minds of his countrymen ſhould be more ſtrongly impreſſed with thoſe wildly pleaſing tales, than with the doctrines of the Alcoran: and he accordingly reprobated thoſe foreign figments, as abhorred by God and the Prophet. The warriors, who figure in Faery-land, are all

ancient Perſian kings and heroes. The Arabians have not even a word in their language expreſſive of the greateſt beauty of Eaſtern Romance, the *Peri:* and altho' *Jin* is now uſed ſynonimouſly with *Dive*; yet its proper and original meaning was merely an Infernal Fiend; a Being very diſtinct from the Romantic inhabitant of Kaf. The ſame obſervation will hold, with regard to the moſt uncommon monſters; who ſeem all to be natives of Perſian fancy: the words uſed by the Arabians, to expreſs the Perſian *Simurgh*, *Ouranabad*, or *Rakſhé*; as well as their dragons and other machinery of Romance, having in general ſimple radical ſignifications, expreſſive of creatures, which really exiſt; and ſeem only to have been figuratively applied, to thoſe imaginary monſters, in later times. A large ſerpent, for example, is transformed into a dragon: an eagle, or a long-neck'd animal, repreſents the Simurgh: a dangerous or inhuman villain is turned into a Giant, a Demon, or any terrifying appearance: and a word, expreſſive of a Dreadful Calamity, or Sudden Horror, which deprives people of their ſenſes, is metaphorically converted into a ſpecies of monſter ſuppoſed to haunt woods, church-yards, and other lonely places; and not only to tear the living to pieces, but to

dig up and devour the bodies of the dead. As the language then of every people will always be obſerved to abound in radical words, expreſſive of every kind of imagery which has been long familiar to them; we muſt conclude, upon the beſt grounds, where ſuch words are not to be found; and metaphorical, or exotic expreſſions, appear to be the only ſubſtitutes; that the ideas, deſcribed by thoſe words, are not indigenous, but adopted from foreign nations: and as the Arabians have no terms, in their tongue, radically expreſſive of any thing ſuperhuman, excepting Angels and Devils; Romance, whoſe characteriſtic genius rolls entirely on a peculiar and diſtinct ſpecies of machinery, could not apparently have originated in Arabia.

Exclusive of the univerſal belief in the fanciful *Peri Syſtem*, which may be called the *Mythology of Romance*, the ancient Perſians appear in general to have acknowledged one Supreme Being; and to have paid a high degree of reſpect to Angels, as ſubordinate deities. This, with a veneration for the ſtars, was the great doctrine of the Sabian religion, which prevailed of old in Perſia, Arabia, and other Eaſtern countries. As theſe Angels are not only frequently alluded to in Eaſtern authors, but throw conſiderable light on the

detail of private life, a few obſervations upon them may not be unuſeful. [f]

When Ormuzd, or Omnipotence, created mankind, the Perſians ſuppoſe that he gave, at the ſame time, the ſuperintendency of the world, and of every thing animate or inanimate, to certain Guardian Angels. Though man was the peculiar charge of the Supreme Being, yet all his actions, and every accident to which he was liable, were ſtill imagined to be, in a great meaſure, dependent on the influence of the preſiding Angel. Every circumſtance of public or family concern had, in conſequence, their favourite times: eſtabliſhed ceremonies were obſerved with anxious attention; and various public feſtivals were appointed, to conciliate the benevolence of thoſe miniſters of heaven. [g]

To procure the favour, or command the ſervice, of Beings, who are ſuppoſed to be the cauſe of the felicity or miſery of man, was a natural wiſh; and ſome there were who pretended to poſſeſs this power. Hence the origin of charms, of taliſmans, and of all the armour offenſive and defenſive of enchantment. In the rudeſt times, there will be ever found men, who are better verſed in the arcana of nature than the uninformed multitude. A love of eaſe, and an averſion from pain, are the

great laws of nature, and the mind is perpetually fluctuating between a wiſh for the one, and a dread of the other. To pretend boldly therefore to a power of beſtowing happineſs, or removing miſery, hardly ever failed, in the days of ignorance, to gain a man believers: and he ſeldom found difficulty in intereſting the paſſions of the people, provided he could by any means impoſe upon their ſenſes. An attention to the principles of mechaniſm, to the operations of chymiſtry, to the virtues of plants, and to the various laws of nature, might produce diſcoveries incomprehenſible by ſimple men: and a few remarkable inſtances of the efficacy of mere natural cauſes, would eaſily gain the poſſeſſors of thoſe ſecrets the reputation of inflicting torment or of commanding pleaſure at a wiſh. To enjoy the reputation and advantages of thoſe fancied ſupernatural powers, was not enough. Some pretended to have the art of communicating them to others: necromancy became of courſe a regular ſtudy; and the people at large, who could not aim at ſuch occult ſciences, were happy to ſupply their want of knowledge, by the purchaſe of taliſmans, amulets, or charms, in whoſe virtues they placed a perfect and moſt wonderful confidence.

TALISMANS and Amulets have long engaged the attention of Eaſtern nations; and accurate rules have been laid down for their conſtruction. The gem, the chryſtal, the metal, or other ſubſtance, is ordered to be dug, or ſearched for, when ſome particular angel rules the day. It muſt be prepared or engraved under the influence of another; and the *zemzemé*, or prayer of a third muſt be pronounced over it, to give it that myſterious virtue for which it is eſteemed. Different ceremonies are neceſſary in gathering the herbs, and flowers; in cropping the hairs of camels, ſea-cows, or other animals of which the amulets are formed: and the ſuſpending them round the necks of men, women, children, or animals, is performed with much preciſion and ſolemnity. Yet real knowledge might originally have given riſe to what the views of the artful, and the ſuperſtition of the ignorant, afterwards perverted to the purpoſes of folly. An intelligent obſerver might diſcover, that certain plants had their juices in high perfection at particular ſeaſons; that ſome ſhould be gathered at ſun-riſe, when moiſt with dew; others at the meridian, when under the influence of the mid-day heat. He might imagine, that the external application of medicinal herbs, of mineral ſubſtances, of

tufts of hair or wool, whilſt impregnated with the effluvia or perſpiration of the animal, might have a ſalutary effect in various ailments; and experience would confirm the juſtneſs of his conjecture. But the million, ever unable or unwilling to inveſtigate natural cauſes (eſpecially when impreſſed with a conviction, that every diſtemper, and every misfortune, proceeded from the operations of malevolent ſpirits, or the faſcination of malignant eyes), would impute the cures which ſuch applications performed, not to the eſſential qualities of their compounds, but to ſupernatural agency, and uneſſential ceremony. They applied them, in conſequence, without diſtinction, not only to the old and to the young, to the ſick and to the healthy, to the brute creation as well as to rational beings; but placed even things inanimate under their protection. An aſs's head, cabaliſtically prepared, and erected on a pole in a garden or field, was ſuppoſed to be an effectual defence againſt faſcination, and a conſequent ſcarcity of produce: whilſt a taliſman, buried along with hidden treaſure, was imagined to put it in perfect ſafety, by rendering it inviſible to every eye but thoſe of the owner. Nothing indeed is more common in the Eaſt than the burying of treaſure: and it took its riſe from

that unſteady ſyſtem of government, which has in general prevailed on thoſe countries. Ever apprehenſive of revolution and ruin, a rich man generally divdes his eſtate into three parts: one he employs in trade, or the neceſſary purpoſes of life; another he inveſts in jewels, which he may eaſily carry off, if forced to fly; and the third he buries. As he intruſts nobody with the ſecret of this depoſit, which he guards with his taliſman, if he dies before he returns to the ſpot, it is then loſt to the world; till accident throws it in the way, perhaps, of ſome fortunate peaſant, when turning up his ground. Thoſe diſcoveries of hidden treaſure, and ſudden tranſitions from poverty to riches, of which we read in Oriental tales, are by no means therefore quite ideal; but a natural conſequence of the manners of the people.

SECT. IV.

Obſervations upon the old Perſian era. Every month, every day, and every action of man ſuppoſed to have been under the ſuperintendance of particular angels. Short account of the feſtivals celebrated by the Perſians in honour of thoſe angels. The Aſiatics in general ſtrongly attached to omens, aſtrology, divination, and dreams.

TO underſtand the machinery of Angels, it will be proper to make ſome previous obſervations on the ancient Perſian era, with which they are intimately connected. This was ſuppoſed to have been eſtabliſhed by king Gemſhid, one of the Piſhdadian princes; the date of whoſe reign ſeems too uncertain even for conjecture: though ſome judicious writers place him about 800 years before Chriſt. On the day when the Sun entered Aries, he is ſaid to have made his firſt public entry into Iſtakhar or Perſepolis, which he had juſt finiſhed; and to have ordered the era to com-

mence from that time, in honour of the Sun, and to commemorate the building of his capital city. He divided the year into twelve months, of thirty days each; to the laſt of which they afterwards added five ſupplementary days, to make up the whole 365. No attention was, for ſome time, paid to any intercalation ſimilar to our Leap Year; till aſtronomers, obſerving, at length, that the Sun, at the beginning of the year, had made a retrograde motion from Aries to Piſces, inſerted one month at the end of 120 years; which they celebrated with one continued feſtival. Yezdejird, the laſt king of the Saſſanian dynaſty, reformed the Kalendar: and his era is adopted at this hour in many parts of Perſia; particularly by the Parſis of Kirman, and by thoſe of Guzerat in Hindoſtan. But all do not agree in the epoch of commencement; ſome dating it from the beginning of Yezdejird's reign, A. D. 632; ſome from his defeat at Cadeſſia in 636; and others from his death in 651. On the conqueſt of Perſia by the Mohammedans the lunar computation was introduced; and it is ſtill attended to in matters of religion: but about the year 1079, the Perſian Kalendar was again reformed by the great Sultan Malekſhah Jelaleddin; and continues now to be

adhered to in ſeveral parts of Perſia. This prince, whilſt he removed the Sun from Piſces to Aries, made alſo an alteration in the poſition of the months; under the idea of reſtoring the ancient mode fixed by Gemſhid. From thoſe changes, however, there has ariſen a diſagreement amongſt the different writers, with regard to the ſeaſons and days, when ſeveral feſtivals were celebrated; which, were it of conſequence, it would be difficult to reconcile: it being probable that, in later times, different provinces ſolemnized them upon the days which correſponded with the reſpective eras they had adopted; and that ſome ceremonies were perhaps introduced by the Mohammedan princes, which were unknown in Ancient Perſia. *

EVERY month was ſuppoſed to be under the guardianſhip of an angel, from whom it received its name. The ſubdiviſion by weeks was not known till later times; but every day had alſo a ruling angel of a ſubordinate degree; the ſuperior angels having each a day, in their reſpective months, which was obſerved with more than ordinary attention. Their feſtivals were, in conſequence, numerous; and many of them uncommonly ſplendid. I ſhall ſlightly touch upon ſuch as ſeem moſt worthy of notice. The chief were thoſe about

the Equinoxes; the next were thoſe of Water at Midſummer, and of Fire at the Winter Solſtice. The firſt was the *Nauruz*, which commenced with their year in *March*, and laſted ſix days; during which all ranks ſeem to have participated in one general joy. The rich ſent preſents to the poor: all were dreſſed in their holiday clothes; all kept open houſe; and religious proceſſions, muſic, dancing, a ſpecies of theatrical exhibition, ruſtic ſports, and other paſtimes, preſented a continued round of varied amuſement. Even the dead, and the ideal things, were not forgotten; rich viands being placed on the tops of the houſes and high towers, on the flavour of which the Peris and Spirits of their departed heroes and friends were ſuppoſed to feaſt. The Parſis of Guzerat ſtill celebrate the laſt ten days of the year as a feſtival to departed Spirits. The firſt five days they ſuppoſe the ſouls of the bleſſed to hover three bow-ſhots above the earth; and during the five laſt they imagine, that not only they, but the damned alſo, viſit their ſurviving friends: on which account, to give them the beſt reception, their houſes are purified and decked out to the greateſt advantage. During theſe ten days they never go from home. [b]

THE feſtival of *Mihrgan* laſted alſo ſix days: it began about the middle of *September*; and was celebrated with ſome uneſſential difference of ceremony; both being in honour of their great oſtenſible deity, the Sun. — In *June* they ſolemnized the *Abrizgan*, in honour of the element of Water: to which, as well as Fire, they paid a high degree of reſpect. It laſted only one day; during which all degrees of people ſprinkled one another with pure water, or with diſtillations from roſes, orange flowers, and other odoriferous herbs. — In *December*, on the ſhorteſt night of the year, was the anniverſary of the great Feſtival of Fire, called *Sheb ſezé*; when their temples were illuminated, and large piles of fire blazed all over the kingdom; round which the people entertained themſelves all night with choral dances, and various amuſements peculiar to the ſeaſon. Amongſt other ceremonies common on this occaſion, there was one, which, whether it originated in ſuperſtition or caprice, ſeems to have been ſingularly cruel and pernicious. The kings and the great men uſed to ſet fire to large bunches of dry combuſtibles, faſtened round wild beaſts and birds; which being then let looſe, the air and earth appeared one great illumination: and as thoſe terrified creatures naturally fled

to the woods for ſhelter, it is eaſy to conceive that conflagrations, which would often happen, muſt have been peculiarly deſtructive, where a people conſidered the extinguiſhing of fire, by water, as one of the higheſt acts of impiety. [c]

THERE were many other feſtivals; ſome of which ſeem whimſical; whilſt others had apparently an excellent political tendency. One of the moſt ludicrous appears to have been that which they celebrated about the Vernal Equinox, called *Kouſa niſhin.* This was an old beardleſs one-eyed figure, repreſenting Winter on his departure, mounted on an aſs or a mule, with a crow in one hand, and a ſcourge and fan in the other. In this manner he paraded the ſtreets, followed by all ranks of people, from the royal family to the beggar. Amongſt many frolics, which the populace played with the old man, they ſprinkled him alternately with hot and cold water; whilſt he, crying out *gurma, gurma,* (heat! heat!) ſometimes fanned himſelf, and ſometimes laſhed his tormentors. He had the privilege of going into every ſhop, and into every houſe; where the leaſt delay in preſenting him with a piece of money, gave him a right to ſeize the effects of every trader; and to beſpatter the clothes, even of the greateſt

nobles, with a mixture of ink, red earth, and water, which he carried in a pot by his ſide. But all were prepared for *Kouſa* at their doors; and their offerings were made the moment of his approach. What he thus received, from the beginning of the cavalcade to the firſt hour of prayer, was paid to the king, or to the governors of thoſe cities, where the ſovereign did not reſide: a circumſtance which ſeems evidently to point to a ſuperſtitious origin; for, upon any other ground, the whole of the poor creature's collections could be no object to men of their elevated rank. From the firſt to the ſecond hour of prayer, the amount of the receipts was the property of the old man; and here his pageant ended. He then ſuddenly diſappeared: for after this time, the firſt perſon he met in the ſtreets might ſeverely beat him with impunity. [d]

THE next feſtival, ſolemnized in *April*, called *Khurm ruz*, is in a different ſtile; and appears to have been founded upon the rational principles of good government; as it tended to give dignity to a moſt uſeful and reſpectable body of men. The king dined in public; and the chiefs of the farmers had the honour of ſitting at table with him: when their ſovereign addreſſed them in words to the following effect. "I am one of you; my ſub-

" ſiſtence, and that of my people, reſts on " the labour of your hands: the ſucceſſion " of the race of man depends upon the " plough; and without you we cannot exiſt. " But your dependence upon me is recipro- " cal: we ought therefore to be brothers, " and to live in perpetual harmony."

In the month of *December* they held a feſtival in honour of deceaſed friends, images of whom they formed in paſte; which they placed where many ſtreets or roads met. They made offerings to them; treated them with great reſpect; and then burnt them with much ſolemnity.—In the ſame month was the ceremony of *driving the Dives from their houſes*. For this purpoſe the Magi wrote certain words with ſaffron on parchment or paper; and then ſmoked it over a fire, into which they put the horn of an animal killed on the 16th of *September*, cotton, garlick, grapes, and wild rue. The ſpell, thus prepared, was glued or nailed to the inſide of the door, which was painted red. The prieſt then took ſand, which he ſpread with a knife, whilſt he muttered over it certain prayers; and then ſtrowing it on the floor, the enchantment was complete: and the Dives were ſuppoſed immediately to vaniſh; or at leaſt to be deprived of all malignant influence.

THE fifth of *February* was conſidered as the proper day for *clearing their dwellings of ſcorpions*; a much more ſerious evil than the Dives. With this view, they paſted on three of the walls of the houſe, ſmall ſlips of paper, called *Nuſhtei Guzſhdum*, inſcribed with magic characters; none being ſtuck upon that in which was the gate-way. After various ceremonies, the door was opened, when thoſe noxious animals generally diſappeared; which they attributed entirely to the virtue of their ſpells: whilſt the ſprinkling of their habitations with compounds, offenſive to thoſe creatures, and other preparatory ſteps, were only conſidered as ſecondary cauſes.—But the moſt romantic of all their feſtivals ſeems to have been the *Merd giran*, celebrated in *February*, in honour of the preſiding angel *Iſfendarmuz*. He was conſidered as the Guardian of the Fair Sex, who, on this occaſion, enjoyed very ſingular privileges. They were veſted with almoſt abſolute power. The huſbands complied, to the utmoſt of their ability, with all the commands of their wives; and the virgins, without offence to delicacy, might pay their addreſſes to whom they pleaſed; and they ſeldom ſued in vain. Numberleſs marriages were in conſequence ſolemnized, and many engagements made; the angel being

ſuppoſed to ſhew remarkable favour, not only to the nuptials then celebrated, but to all the contracts entered into during his gay feſtival. An inſtitution, which ſeems to bear ſome reſemblance to the ancient gallantry of *Valentine's day* in Europe. [s]

An attention to thoſe obſervances, as well as to fortunate days, fortunate names, and every circumſtance of ſupernatural influence, we find indeed was by no means confined, in the Eaſt, to the lower orders of men: the greateſt, and the moſt learned, appearing to have been impreſſed with a belief, equally ſtrong with that of the meaneſt and the moſt ignorant. An Aſiatic ſetting out on important buſineſs, would return if he met a perſon whom he ſuppoſed to have a *ſhum kudem* (a black or unlucky foot); or if he ſaw a deer deſcending a mountain, or appearing at his back. When a married man took a long journey, it was common for him to twiſt, in a particular manner, two branches of the broom called *retem:* if on his return he found them as he left them, he was perfectly ſatisfied of the fidelity of his wife; but if any accident had unlooſed or diſcompoſed them, nothing could induce him to believe her innocent. — As in thoſe countries the crops were often deſtroyed for want of rain; amongſt

other ceremonies which they ſuppoſed had virtue to procure it, they tied ſome combuſtibles to the tail of a bullock, eſpecially of the wild breed; to which they ſet fire: and if he then ran up the hill, they looked upon it as a certain prognoſtic of rain.—When a Perſian peaſant thought his corn was too long in winnowing, he took a kind of baſtard ſaffron, called *bad engiz*, which he rubbed; and throwing it in the air, the wind was expected immediately to ſpring up. [h]

ASTROLOGY, divination, and the interpretation of dreams, were faſhionable ſtudies with men of rank; and they in general carried with them, wherever they went, pocket aſtronomical tables, which they conſulted, as well as aſtrologers, on every affair of moment. —*Amru*, one of the greateſt and moſt penetrating of the Arabian generals, after having ſubdued part of Egypt, and other countries, ſat down before Jeruſalem; and had almoſt reduced it to ſurrender, when he was told by an aſtrologer, that the predicted conqueror of the Holy City had only three letters in his name. Struck with this, Amru ſuſpended his operations, and ſent a meſſenger immediately to his maſter, the Khalif *Omar*, whoſe name in Arabic conſiſts of only three letters: and upon his arrival in the camp, the town

inſtantly capitulated. — *Tamerlane* ſeldom marched till the aſtrologers fixed the lucky hour: and an ideot having once thrown a breaſt of mutton at him, preciſely at the time he was meditating the conqueſt of *Kharezmé*, ſometimes called the *Breaſt of the World*, he interpreted it, before all his army, as an infallible omen of his ſucceſs. Much good policy, as well as ſuperſtition, may poſſibly, indeed, have been at the bottom of Tamerlane's conduct; as it muſt have highly animated his troops, who were conſtitutionally impreſſed with the ſtrongeſt ideas of omens, ſpells, and every ſpecies of ſupernatural belief: a moſt cruel proof of which their anceſtors had given, when they over-ran the Khalifat in the thirteenth century: for many of the Mohammedans having a cuſtom of carrying about them verſes or chapters of the Alcoran, by way of preſervatives or charms; the Tarters conſidered all they met, with ſuch papers, as enchanters; and put them to death without mercy. The Tartars have ever, indeed, been ſo ſtrongly impreſſed with the notion of enchantments, that we meet with ſtrange details in ſome of their moſt authentic writers. *Abulgazi*, King of Kharezmé, who writes a genealogical hiſtory of the Tartars, very gravely tells us, that Tuli, one of the ſons of Jengiz

Khan, having been ſurrounded by the Kathay or Chineſe army, would have been cut to pieces, had he not ordered one of his magicians to turn Summer into Winter. The conjuror accordingly began his operations, and continued them for three days, when he brought down ſuch a ſtorm of hail and ſnow, that the Khan of Kathay's army, clothed in ſilken garments and thin ſtuffs, being unable to move, were ſlaughtered without reſiſtance. ---One Mahmoud, who pretended to be a ſorcerer, was followed by numbers; and fomented a dangerous revolt againſt Jagathai, another of the ſons of Jengiz Khan, who ſucceeded his father in Turkeſtan. His generals marched to attack the rebels; but, on the point of giving battle, the Mogul army finding themſelves enveloped by a thick fog, conceived it to be the enchantment of Mahmoud, and immediately fled, to a man. One arrow only, it is ſaid, was diſcharged; which by a ſingular accident killed the Sorcerer: yet ſo ſtrongly were his people impreſſed with his ſupernatural powers, that his brothers found no difficulty in perſuading them that he had only made himſelf inviſible for a little while; and aſſumed the adminiſtration of affairs till his return. This revolt was afterwards quelled with ſome difficulty.[1]

SECT. V.

Traces of Chivalry in the Eaſt. Importance of Women among the Arabians, Perſians and Tartars.

CHIVALRY, or Knight-errantry, has ever been ſo intimately connected with enchantment, that, before we leave this ſubject, it may not be improper to make a few remarks on ſuch traces of it as may be diſcovered in the Eaſt. The peculiar ideas and habits of a people, as I have often had occaſion to obſerve, may be ſeen in their Poems and Romances, with a preciſion not inferior to their more ſerious and moral Writings; as a Poet of true genius, though he may aſcribe to his Heroes more virtues and fewer faults, than are to be found in the imperfect nature of man, will, at the ſame time, ever copy the living manners of the preſent or former times.—Single combats in the *Shah namé*, and other Eaſtern works of fancy, are innumerable.—Aſfendiar was one of the moſt

famous warriors in Ancient Perſia. He challenges, fights, and kills Arjaſb, the ſon of Afraſiab, king of Turan: but being ſent by his father againſt the famous Roſtam, after a ſingle combat, which laſts two days, he is killed by the blow of a mace; Roſtam having diſcovered that he had a charm which rendered him invulnerable to ſpear, ſword, or arrow.—Roſtam has ſeveral duels with his own ſon Sohrab, whom he did not know; in the laſt of which he unfortunately kills him.—Thoſe heroes are armed with complete coats of mail, plumed helmets, ſpears, ſwords, maces and ſhields, with daggers, bows and arrows. Their armour, and the trappings of their horſes, are uncommonly ſplendid: and their mode of attack ſeems in every ſhape to have been exactly ſimilar to the tiltings of Knight-errantry: excepting in the circumſtance of the bow and arrow; which appears to have been chiefly confined to the infantry, after Chivalry became a regular inſtitution in Europe.—A famous combat is mentioned by all the Perſian writers, and ſeems to be founded on hiſtorical fact, between twelve choſen warriors of Perſia, and twelve of Tartary. The armies of Kai Khoſrou and Afraſiab were drawn up in battle array. To ſave the effuſion of blood, this

combat was propoſed; the ſucceſs of which was to fix the boundaries of the hoſtile empires. The Perſians gained the victory, chiefly by the proweſs of Roſtam; and the Tartar king immediately abandoned all the territory to the ſouthward of the Oxus. Cavun, one of the Perſian champions, ſeems to have been a knight-errant; for he was ſurnamed *Rezm khah*, One who goes in ſearch of adventures.—Among the Arabians, nothing was more common than challenging to ſingle combat. At the *War of the Ditch*, ſo called from the lines which Mohammed drew round Medina, when beſieged by the Koreiſh; one of the chiefs of that tribe ſent a general challenge to the Prophet's army: which was accepted by Ali; who killed both the challenger and his ſecond.—Ali ſome years afterwards challenged Moawiyah his competitor for the Khalifat, in the face of both armies, before the battle of Seffein. All the great officers of both ſides thought him bound in honour to accept it: but as Ali had no equal for ſtrength and addreſs in arms, Moawiyah judged it more prudent to decline.—Many ſingle combats were alſo fought between the Arabians and the Greeks at the ſieges of Boſtra, Damaſcus and other places in Syria.—Mention is made of two famous Arabian

Knights-errant, one called Abu Mohammed Al batal, who wandered every where in queſt of adventures, and the redreſſing of grievances. He was killed in the year 738. The other was a great grandſon of the Khalif Abubeker, named Giaffar al Sadik, who died in the reign of Almanſor, in the year 764—In an imperfect manuſcript, which has neither beginning nor end, I met, by chance, with the following anecdote of Giaffar al Sadik. This warrior, who was equally eminent for his piety and extenſive knowledge as for his renown in arms, was invited to court by the Khalif Almanſor, that he might profit by his counſel. Giaffar returned for anſwer, "Whoever has "a view only to this world, will not give "you ſincere advice; and he who regards the "next, will not keep you company."

THAT mode, which prevailed in Europe, of the knights of hoſtile armies challenging one another to ſingle combat, during a truce, was very common in the Eaſt. I ſhall give one remarkable inſtance. The gallant Sultan Jelaleddin, whoſe father Mohammed, king of Kharezmé, was driven from his dominions by Jengiz Khan, having afterwards recovered part of his kingdom, marched about the year 1228 againſt the Georgians: when a truce having been agreed upon, in order to

adjuſt, if poſſible, terms of accommodation, the great men of both armies ſent mutual defiances, and many combats were fought. Jelaleddin, diſguiſing himſelf like a private knight, entered the liſts: when a well mounted Georgian appeared againſt him; but at the firſt career, he unhorſed him, and ſucceſſively three of his ſons, who wiſhed to retrieve the family honour. A champion of uncommon ſize then approached. He was ſurnamed Pil afkun (overthrower of elephants). His blows fell with ſuch force and rapidity, that Jelaleddin, apprehenſive leſt his horſe ſhould fly off, or ſink under him, ſprung to the ground; and aimed his lance with ſuch addreſs, that he pierced the Georgian's forehead, and extended him lifeleſs on the ground. [h]

MANY other circumſtances which accompanied the inſtitution of Chivalry in Europe appear to have been long familiar in the Eaſt: tournaments, throwing the javelin, armorial bearings, and, above all, that reſpectful attention to women, which formed no part of the national character of the Greeks or Romans. The exerciſes of the *geridé* and the *kana* were favourite amuſements with the young warriors. They darted them at the ring *derit*; and they tilted, or threw them at one another. The Arabian conquerors of

Spain carried the cuſtom into that country; where, under the deſcription of *Fieſtas de las canas*, it is celebrated in the *Romanzes*, as one of the higheſt public entertainments which the gallant Moors gave in honour of the Ladies. One cavalier was the public challenger or Mantenedor. He run at the ring, or tilted with all who entered the liſts. Gold chains, jewels, and other rich ornaments were the prizes: but the moſt valuable of all was, the picture of the Mantenedor's miſtreſs; which was placed in a conſpicuous part of field; and ſurrounded by the portraits of thoſe of the vanquiſhed Knights. The Ladies in galleries, erected round the liſts, were generally witneſſes of the addreſs, ſtrength, and fortune of their admirers. [c]

THE attention of the Arabians and Tartars to the Fair Sex ſeems indeed to have been conducted upon ſuch principles of delicate ſenſibility, as would hardly be expected from that fierceneſs of temper, for which they have been characterized. Yet the great lines in the manners of thoſe people may nevertheleſs, in ſome meaſure, account for it. Their attachment to paſtoral life, ever favourable to love, with many circumſtances peculiar to their roving habits, would frequently produce ſuch ſituations as might greatly heighten that ele-

gant regard for the ſex, which diſtinguiſhes refined affection from brutal impulſe. Many tribes are often encamped together; and the young men of one fall naturally in love with the damſels of another. In the midſt of their courtſhip, the heads of the tribes ſuddenly order the tents to be ſtruck: one goes to the right hand; the other takes the left. The lovers are ſeparated, perhaps never more to meet: and if we can draw any concluſions from their elegies or their language, thoſe ſeparations have been often fatal. Dying for love is conſidered amongſt us as a mere poetic figure; and we certainly can ſupport the reality by few examples: but in Eaſtern countries it ſeems to be ſomething more: many words, in the Arabic and Perſian languages, which expreſs *Love*, implying alſo *Melancholy*, *Madneſs*, and *Death*.

THE military ideas, which prevailed in Old Arabia, ſeem alſo to have been peculiarly calculated to promote a romantic attention to the Fair Sex. A long ceſſation of hoſtilities was painful to the Arabs: their arms were often turned againſt the neighbouring countries, and caravans of travellers; but oftener againſt each other. Captives and plunder were the chief objects; and the women were conſidered as moſt valuable ſpoils. To pro-

teſt them became in conſequence a great point of honour. Thoſe predatory wars, in whatever light we may view them, were conſidered as highly honourable in Arabia; and no man was thought in any ſhape accompliſhed, who could not boaſt, in them, ſome feat of arms. Their expeditions were in general ſhort. If they found the enemy too powerful, they retired; if unprepared, they ſurprized them; if of equal or inferior force, they attacked them: and one battle was for the moſt part deciſive. A young warrior returning after a ſhort abſence, and laying his laurels, his captives, and his ſpoils at the feet of his miſtreſs, would, in general, woo with ſucceſs: and he, whoſe gallant intrepidity had ſaved his tribe from rapine and captivity, would ever be a favourite of the fair. When the flower of any tribe were abſent upon a diſtant enterprize, ſome hoſtile neighbours would often attack thoſe they had left behind: and hence aroſe perhaps the cuſtom of the Arabian women, even of the higheſt rank, attending their huſbands, fathers, and brothers in their military expeditions; and of fighting often with a degree of heroiſm not inferior to the fabled atchievements of the ancient Amazons. We have many inſtances of the fortune of the day

having been reſtored by them after the men had fled: but none more remarkable than the famous battle of Yermouk, fought in the year 636; which proved deciſive of the fate of Syria, and of the Greek Empire in the Eaſt. The Grecians greatly out-numbered the Arabians; and their onſet was ſo impetuous, that they drove them to their tents. There the fugitives were ſtopt by the women; who alternately encouraged and reproached them: they threatened even to join the Greeks; and one of their braveſt officers appearing diſpoſed for flight, a lady knocked him down with a tent pole; ſaying, "Advance, Paradiſe is before your face; fly, "and the fire of hell is at your back." The chief women then took the command; and made head till night parted the combatants. The next day they led them again to the attack; a young lady, named *Khaula*, ſiſter to one of the principal commanders, acting as general. In leading the van ſhe was beat to the ground by a Greek; when *Wafeira*, one of her female friends, ſtriking off his head at a blow, brought the heroine off. Animated by the noble behaviour of the women, the Arabs ſoon became irreſiſtible, and routed at length the Grecian army, with the loſs, it is ſaid, of 150,000 killed, and about 50,000

priſoners. Khaula was afterwards eſpouſed by the Khalif Ali.—The Arabian women were, in general, excellent archers; and they watched every opportunity of revenging the death of their huſbands, their fathers, their brothers, or their lovers. The governor of Damaſcus, a man of uncommon abilities and courage, killed with his own hand, in a ſally, an Arabian of diſtinction, named Aban, in the ſight of his wife, who fought by his ſide. She immediately let fly an arrow, which miſſing the governor, killed the great ſtandard-bearer: with the ſecond ſhe was more ſucceſsful; ſhe wounded him in the eye, and forced him to retreat to Damaſcus.

THE Tartars, as we are informed in the Hiſtory of Abulgaſi Khan, uſed in the ſame manner, to carry with them, when they went even upon ſhort expeditions, their wives and families, for the reaſons mentioned above; as that weaker ſex muſt, otherwiſe, have remained, in the abſence of the warriors, a prey to invading neighbours.—Tamerlane, in the intervals between his expeditions, uſed to aſſemble all the young females of the army, and order a general marriage; which he ſolemnized with uncommon magnificence. After the defeat of the Kipjaks about the year 1389, that prince gave a moſt

pompous feaſt in the delightful plains near Samarcand, on the marriage of his Emirs, his inferior officers, and his ſoldiers; which was introduced by a grand piece of muſic, compoſed on the occaſion, called the *Triumph of Kipjak*. He was ſeated on a throne of gold: rich carpets and brocades overſpread the ground: and tables in various diſpoſitions were ranged around to an immenſe diſtance: thoſe of the great Emirs being placed next to the throne; and the ſubordinate officers and ſoldiers ſeated according to their reſpective ranks, marſhalled in battle array; the bridegrooms on one ſide, and the brides on the other. Thoſe gallant entertainments, which were accompanied with tournaments, huntings, and various hardy ſports, coincided perfectly with the genius of his people. They often continued many days; for all the great Khans were ambitious of imitating the ſplendor of their ſovereign: and he took pains to encourage their ruling paſſion. No prince was ever more generous to thoſe who ſerved him well: yet he knew the ſecret of keeping even the richeſt dependent on his bounty; and Luxury was the maſter-key. War and the Ladies he knew were the great objects of their adoration. They fought and they plundered, only to be gallant and magnificent. [f]

THE marriage of a prince among the Tartars was attended with ſingular ſplendor and ceremony. I ſhall not dwell upon numberleſs inſtances which might be brought from the Hiſtories of Jengiz Khan, Tamerlane, Abulgaſi, and other Tartar annals, but ſhall only remark a pompous cuſtom, mentioned by the Vizir Nezam, which I have met with in no other author. It is introduced when occaſionally mentioning ſome particulars of the marriage of his ſovereign, the Sultan *Malekſhah*, with the daughter of the Khalif. "The Sultan was encamped on the "weſt ſide of the Tigris; and the Khalif's "palace was on the eaſt. On the day choſen "for the ceremony, the Sultan gave orders, "that all the Great Men who were preſent "ſhould go to the palace of the Khalif to ſo-"licit his conſent: *for according to the cuſ-"tom of the Turcomans, at the time of the "courtſhip, the Bridegroom's people go to the "father of the future Bride; and in a ſuppli-"cating manner requeſt him to give his conſent "to the match.* In like manner, the great "men, then aſſembled from moſt parts of "the earth, went in proceſſion to ſupplicate "the Khalif: and, to ſhow the regard due to "his palace, directions were given, that they "ſhould all go thither on foot. When they

" began to march, the Khalif, who had no-
" tice of their motion, immediately ſent a
" meſſenger, who ſaid, that the Commander
" of the Faithful had ordered *Nezam ul mulk*
" to come on horſeback. So I alone mount-
" ed; and all the great men of the world
" accompanied me on foot. On our arrival
" at the palace, I was introduced into a moſt
" magnificent hall: and ſeated on an eminent
" place: and all the reſt on my right and
" left. Then robes of honour were brought
" for all of us: and, on that for me, was curi-
" ouſly wrought the following words, *For*
" *the Wiſe and Juſt Vizir Nezam ul Mulk,*
" *Emiru'l'mouminin.* And from the begin-
" ning of Mohammedaniſm to this day no
" Vizir has been dignified with the title of
" Prince of the Faithful."—The high reſ-
pect paid by the Tartars to the Sex might indeed be ſupported upon many grounds.—If a Tartar chief married ſeveral wives, the ſons of the lady, who was moſt nobly born, took precedence of their elder brothers, whoſe mothers were of inferior rank. It is particularly remarked, as a general Mogul cuſtom, by *Abulpharaj*, when mentioning the ſons of Jengiz Khan, by his principal queen Owiſunjin Begum, daughter of Thogrul Khan or Preſter John; and ſeems to be a ſtretch of

complaiſance unknown even in our European laws.—The Vizir Nezam adviſes his ſon, if he accepts the Vizirſhip, to pay uncommon attention to the Ladies of the court, for the following reaſon: "Although, in old times, "eſpecially during the reigns of the ancient "Kings of Perſia, no great regard was paid "to the opinion of the Queens in matters of "ſtate; yet the Khans of Turkeſtan had al-"ways a cuſtom of conſulting the women on "all emergencies; and preferred their opini-"ons to that of all their counſellors: and as "the Turcoman princes were originally edu-"cated among them, they likewiſe follow this "cuſtom; and truſt to their prudent advice "on all occaſions. It is therefore abſolutely "neceſſary that you take ſhelter under their "protection." As Nezam always illuſtrates his advice by ſome anecdote from Hiſtory, or his own obſervation, he, upon this occaſion, gives ſome inſtances of the great influence and addreſs of a lady called *Jemila Candahari*, the favourite attendant on the young Tartar queen of Sultan Mahmoud; who appears, from the account of this penetrating ſtateſman, to have been the chief though ſecret ſpring of every miniſterial movement. She was handſome; and endowed with uncommon parts: ſhe was a ſteady friend, and a determined but not a

cruel enemy. She protected her favourites in the moſt dangerous ſituations; and hurled, with a ſure but inviſible arm, diſappointment and diſgrace on the heads of thoſe who wiſhed to riſe upon their ruin. [t]

SECT. VI.

Conjectures on Eaſtern Muſic.

I HAVE mentioned a muſical compoſition performed before Tamerlane, called the *Triumph of Kipjak*; but I have had no opportunity of diſcovering any thing ſatisfactory of the genius of the Tartar, Perſian, or Arabian muſic. They have however three principal *perdes* or modes; called the *Iſphahani*, which appears to be the original Perſian melody; the *Iraki* or the Babyloniſh; and the *Hejazi* or the Arabian: which have probably an analogy and a difference, ſimilar to that which is found between the aboriginal muſic of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Their ſtile is apparently not very remote from that which prevailed in Europe before the eleventh century; when Guido and others began to improve the Italian taſte. Simple melody ſeems to be their only object; without any idea of compoſition in ſcore, or of harmonic accompaniment; excepting what

may be produced, by the concord of a deep-toned inſtrument playing the ſame piece along with another, tuned a ſingle or a double octave higher. But this approaches ſo near to uniſon, as hardly to ſuggeſt any idea of that variety introduced by thirds, fifths, and the other leſs perfect chords; which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhes the preſent European ſyſtem from that of the ancients. — The Aſiatics have a great number of inſtruments; and many of thoſe now in uſe amongſt us, tho' conſiderably improved, appear to have been originally of Eaſtern invention. One of their moſt favourite inſtruments is called the *Barbut*; a ſpecies of lute, which is ſaid to have been invented by a famous muſician of that name, who was maſter to Khoſrou Parviz, king of Perſia, about the end of the ſixth century: but it is probable that he only improved it; and was perhaps ſo ſurnamed, from his excellent performance on the inſtrument. For the *Barbiton*, which, in name and deſcription, ſeems to have borne a great reſemblance to it, was known to the Greeks; though it might poſſibly have been originally brought from Perſia; Strabo obſerving, that it was ſo named, as being borrowed from Barbarians. Among the Eaſtern nations we find a variety of inſtruments of this ſpecies; which bear a pro-

portion, in point of ſize, ſimilar to that of the violin, tenor, and violoncello, in Europe. The *Aber* ſeems to be a common lute; the *Sili* is deſcribed with a large ſwelling belly, and a deep tone. The *Shahſhah* is a four-ſtringed inſtrument, ſomewhat like a violoncello. The *Yenem* is another large inſtrument ſtrung with braſs wires, and ſtruck with a ſhort plectrum; the *Yeſhkirdé* being ſomewhat ſimilar, but played with a long bow. The *Sheſhta* has ſix ſtrings, and is of the ſame ſpecies with the *Kitar*; whence our guitar, from the Spaniſh *guitarra*, ſeems to have been borrowed: as it was a favourite inſtrument with the Arabian conquerors of Spain; who ſeem not only to have introduced it, but alſo the gallant cuſtom of ſerenading their miſtreſſes: on which occaſion, not only the words of their ſongs, but the airs, and even the colour of their habits, were expreſſive of the triumph of the fortunate, or the deſpair of the rejected lover. *

THE Perſians appear to have been the moſt muſical of the Eaſtern nations; the Arabians themſelves, who have written many treatiſes on the ſubject, acknowledging, that they had borrowed from them the greateſt part of their knowledge, and many of their terms of art. Father Angelo ſays that he ſaw ſeveral beautiful muſical manuſcripts at Iſphahan;

ſome of which were brought into Europe, and placed in the library of Louis XIV. by his Oriental interpreter M. Petis Le Croix.

The great men in the Eaſt have been always fond of muſic. Tho' prohibited by the Mohammedan religion, it in general makes part of every public or private entertainment. Female ſlaves are generally kept to amuſe them, and the ladies of their Harams. Female ſtrolling muſicians are alſo very common; and the Perſian *Khanyageré* ſeems nearly to have reſembled our old Engliſh Minſtrel; as he generally accompanied his Barbut or lute with heroic ſongs.—Their muſicians appear, like old Timotheus, to have known the art of moving the paſſions, and to have generally directed their muſic to the heart. I ſhall mention one inſtance. Alfarabi, who died about the middle of the tenth century, was a philoſopher of uncommon genius; and, amongſt other accompliſhments, he excelled in muſic. On his return from the pilgrimage to Mecca, he introduced himſelf, though a ſtranger, at the court of Seifeddoula, Sultan of Syria. Muſicians were accidentally performing, and he joined them. The prince admired him, and wiſhed to hear ſomething of his own. He pulled a compoſition from his pocket, and diſtributing the parts amongſt

the band, the firſt movement threw the prince and his courtiers into violent and inceſſant laughter; the next melted all into tears; and the laſt lulled even the performers aſleep.

SECT. VII.

Private war among the Eaſtern nations compared with that which prevailed in Europe during the middle ages. Compoſitions for homicide. The holy months of the Arabians contraſted with the Treuga Dei, and Pax Regis of Europe. Captivity and Slavery.

A VARIETY of cuſtoms, we may here obſerve, prevailed amongſt the independent tribes of Pagan Arabians and Tartars, which were either aboliſhed or modified, when they became united under princes of ability and power. One of theſe was the deſtructive ſyſtem of Private War. In every ſtate where the arm of the civil magiſtrate has been too feeble to check or chaſtiſe the crimes of men, private revenge ſeems naturally to have uſurped the place of legal puniſhment. We find it in full vigour in the middle ages, and univerſally adopted in every European ſtate. And

ſo forcible is the prejudice of ancient habit, that even where ſovereigns gained ſtrength ſufficient, to ſubſtitute the laws of reaſon for the practices of barbarity, they found it not prudent to overturn at once this pernicious offspring of uncultivated minds: but, by loading it with expenſive compoſitions, they endeavoured to make its ravages leſs hurtful to ſociety. Similar but more ſavage principles appear to have regulated thoſe Eaſtern nations. If an Arabian had loſt a near relation, a wife, or even a ſlave, he ſingled out from among the Captives, when victorious, a freeman for each, and ſacrificed them in cold blood. This was not conſidered as barbarous: it was rather a point of honour; which avarice alone appears to have mitigated: the huſband, relations, or maſter of the deceaſed, being permitted to diſpenſe with their ſanguinary vengeance, in conſideration of a mulct. We accordingly find, about the birth of Mohammed, that ten camels were the compenſation for a ſlaughtered man; without any apparent diſtinction between the freeman and the ſlave. Mohammed, powerful as he was, durſt not, any more than the lawgivers of Europe, ſo far oppoſe the general genius of the people, as entirely to aboliſh this brutal cuſtom: but he endeavoured to mitigate or regulate it by ſe-

veral paſſages in the Alcoran; in which, among other circumſtances, a diſtinction is made of rank and ſex. In after-times, the compoſition of ten camels was found inadequate to check the prevalence of private vengeance: and, in the Sonna, it was accordingly raiſed to a hundred: probably for the ſame reaſons which dictated an encreaſe of the ſanguinary fines among the Lombards and other European nations: becauſe thoſe fines having been originally fixed when the people were poor; they were found too trifling, when, by the extent of their conqueſts, they had become powerful and rich. It does not however appear, that any thing ſimilar to the European *Fredum*, or proportion paid to the public treaſury, ſubſiſted among the Eaſtern nations; the whole of the compenſation being received by the relations or maſter of the ſlaughtered perſon. In the Eaſt, as well as in Europe, the relations of the principals in a quarrel ſeem to have been bound by honour and cuſtom to eſpouſe their party, and to revenge their death; one of the higheſt reproaches, with which one Arabian could upbraid another, being an accuſation of having left the blood of his friend unrevenged. The ſacred months of the Arabians appear to have been far ſuperior to the *Treuga Dei* or the *Pax Regis*

of Europe. Three following months in every year, with another one intermediate, muſt have tended far more effectually to ſoften exaſperated minds, than the interval of three days in a week; which would, in general, only give them a breathing time to prepare for freſh hoſtilities. Thoſe European ordinances were, at the ſame time, too often diſregarded; whilſt in Arabia, they took the heads from their ſpears, and obſerved this great ſalutary law ſo religiouſly, that from the earlieſt periods of record or tradition, they furniſhed but four or five inſtances where it had been infringed; and theſe were ſtamped with the epithet of impiety, and the univerſal execration of the people. [a]

One circumſtance, however, appears ſtrongly to have diſtinguiſhed the private wars in the Eaſt from thoſe of the Weſt. The manners of Aſia ſeem, in all ages, to have pointed to domeſtic ſlavery: and Mohammed, in Arabia, made that an article of religion, which had anciently been only a cuſtom. The Captives were, in conſequence, with few exceptions, conſtantly reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude; and little diſtinction ſeems, in general, to have been made between a princeſs and her female ſlave; excepting what ſhe derived from a ſuperiority of perſonal accompliſhments. Thoſe

ideas the Arabians retained amidſt their extenſive conqueſts. Many inſtances might be given; but I ſhall confine myſelf to two; as they regard the daughters of the two greateſt princes then in the world.—In an action after the ſiege of Damaſcus, in 635, amongſt other priſoners was the daughter of Heraclius, Emperor of Greece, and widow of the Governor of that city. Rafi, the Arabian commander, to whoſe lot ſhe fell, preſented her, without ceremony, as a ſlave, to Jonas, a Grecian, who had embraced the Mohammedan religion; but Jonas, from a principle of honour, returned her, with all her jewels, unranſomed to her father.—When the Arabians conquered Perſia, Shirin Banu, the daughter of king Yezdejird, was one of the captives, and was publicly expoſed to ſale in the city of Medina; but the liberal-minded Ali thought differently from his countrymen on this occaſion: he declared, that the offspring of princes ought not to be ſold: and married her immediately to his ſon Hoſſain. This anecdote I met with in the mutilated manuſcript, formerly mentioned, the author of which I have not been able to diſcover. Iſmael Sefi, who mounted the throne of Perſia in the year 1502, derived his deſcent, as obſerved before, (p. 73.) from the Khalif Ali; and as he claimed re-

lationſhip to the ancient royal family of Perſia, it was probably in conſequence of this marriage. What may ſerve to confirm this anecdote, is a ſtory related of the Khalif Al Walid, and the Imam Zein Alabdin, ſon of Hoſſain, whom he ſuſpected of a deſign upon the Khalifat. "You are unworthy to reign, "ſaid Al Walid, as being the ſon of a ſlave: "your mother was one of the Perſian cap-"tives." The Imam anſwered, "The mo-"ther of Iſmael, the ſon of Abraham, was "the ſlave Hagar; yet Mohammed was de-"ſcended from her." The Khalif bluſhed, and was ſilent. [b]

THE Tartars, in the circumſtance of private war, reſembled, in many particulars, the old Arabians; in ſome they differed. The whole hiſtory of Abulgazi Khan is filled with the inceſſant wars of the various tribes. The domeſtic ſlavery of the men was, indeed, ſeldom adopted. They either maſſacred them, or ſent them into diſtant exile: but the women were made captives. Abulgazi mentions particularly, when the princes of the tribe of Amunak, about the year 1504, defeated the poſterity of Burga Sultan, one of the deſcendants of Jengiz Khan, that they put to death all the males of that houſe; but their wives and daughters they kept as ſlaves. When they

ſpared their priſoners, and either ſet them at liberty, or removed them to another country, they divided them into ſmall troops of ten or twelve; each of which furniſhed one, as a hoſtage for the good behaviour of the reſt. A ſimilar cuſtom prevailed of old among the Germans.

SECT. VIII.

Generoſity and Hoſpitality of the Aſiatics.

AMIDST all the vices and dangerous qualities of the Arabians, Perſians, and Tartars, they have been ever diſtinguiſhed for generoſity and hoſpitality. Particular details would be endleſs; they are to be found in almoſt every author who has touched upon the hiſtory of thoſe people. I ſhall only obſerve, in addition to thoſe accounts, that there is hardly a word in the Arabic and Perſian languages which ſignifies *Avarice*, that does not alſo imply *Cowardice*, *baſeneſs*, *ſlavery*, or *villainy*. The Arabians have even a proverb, that no Miſer was ever brave, but the Khalif Abdalla ben Zobair. So high is their idea of

the rights of hoſpitality, that if the murderer of their deareſt friends had, even by chance, eaten or drunk under their roof, that alone cancelled every former crime; and they were bound not only to forgive but to protect him. The wretch, who had betrayed the man, whoſe bread he had eaten, was juſtly ſtamped with the deepeſt infamy; a *Bread and Salt Traitor* being one of the moſt opprobrious epithets by which one Aſiatic could expreſs his deteſtation of another.—Their veneration for Salt is indeed extraordinary. A robber having one night broke into the palace of the king of Sejeſtan; and happening, whilſt he was making off with his rich booty, to tread upon a ſtone, which he conceived to be a jewel that had eſcaped his ſearch in the dark, he picked it up; and, putting it to his mouth, to be ſatisfied of the truth, he found it to be ſalt. This accidental circumſtance operated ſo forcibly, even with this looſe-principled man, that he then, conſidered his robbery as a violation of the rights of hoſpitality; and retired immediately home without his plunder. This famous robber became afterwards king of Sejeſtan, and founder of the dynaſty of the Soffarides.—A cuſtom ſubſiſts to this day in India, among the Gentoos, of taſting Salt, together with other ceremonies,

when dividing property among partners, or the heirs of a perſon deceaſed. *

SECT. XI.

The Trial by Ordeal apparently of Perſian Origin.

AMONGST other laws and uſages, ſimilar to thoſe of the Northern nations, we find, that the trial by Ordeal was anciently known in Perſia; and it originated apparently from their ſuperſtitious veneration for Fire. After exalting that element to the rank of a divinity, we cannot wonder that they ſhould reſort to it, for evidence, in points which could not admit of poſitive proof. In the *Shah namé* we find the deſcription of an illuſtrious trial, by the Ordeal, above five hundred years before the Chriſtian era. Siavekhſh, ſon of the reigning king Kai Kaus, had been educated in Sejeſtan by the great Roſtam. His father, hearing much of his accompliſhments, ſent for him to court; where Saudabé, his mother-in-law, fell in love with him. She ſoon made a declaration; but, the prince diſcouraging her advances, ſhe flew in a rage to

the king, and accuſed him of an attempt upon her honour. The prince proteſted his innocence; but the queen perſiſted, and demanded juſtice. The king knew not how to decide; the nature of the caſe could not admit of proof. He ordered, therefore, a large fire to be kindled, and the parties to paſs through it. The prince, without hesitation, boldly entered it on horſeback, and paſſed unhurt. But Saudabé trembled, and durſt not venture: ſhe fell on her knees, confeſſed the truth, and was pardoned on the generous intercession of the man ſhe meant to deſtroy. Though the whole of this anecdote may be fiction, as part of it undoubtedly is, ſtill I muſt repeat, that Firdouſi would not have mentioned this mode of trial, had it been unknown in Perſia.—The trial by Ordeal, where ſatisfactory evidence cannot be obtained, is ſtill in practice among the Gentoos in Hindoſtan; and is of high antiquity. It is mentioned ſeveral times in the *Code of Gentoo Laws*, as a common mode of proof, under the title of *Purrikeh*: but I have not been able to diſcover the particular ſpecies which they adopt.

SECT. X.

On the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the Eaſt.

THE adminiſtration of juſtice in Pagan Arabia appears to have been very ſimple; the heads of the tribes being, in general, the umpires of every difference. Solemn oaths uſed to be taken over a fire called *hawlet*; into which, if they ſuſpected a witneſs of perjury, they privately threw a ſpecies of ſalt; which making a ſudden exploſion, terrified him often into a diſcovery of the truth. Over a fire they uſed alſo to make treaties and other ſolemn agreements. — After Mohammed had eſtabliſhed his prophetic character, cauſes appear to have been determined only by him and his chief companions: and their decrees were ſometimes ſtrikingly deciſive. A Mohammedan being caſt in a ſuit with a Jew before the tribunal of the Prophet, appealed to Omar; who happened to be ſtanding at his door when the parties appeared. After liſtening to the merits with great compoſure, he bid them wait a little, and he would ſoon ſettle the whole affair. He then went into

his houſe, and returning inſtantly with a ſword, ſtruck off the Mohammedan's head: "Thus, ſays he, ought all to be puniſhed, "who acquieſce not in the ſentence of the "prophet of God." *

I FOUND a deciſion of Ali, in the imperfect manuſcript formerly mentioned, which ſeems ingenious, and ſhows, at the ſame time, ſomething of the manners of the people in thoſe times. Two Arabians ſat down to dinner: one had five loaves, the other three. A ſtranger paſſing by, deſired permiſſion to eat with them; which they agreed to. The ſtranger dined, laid down eight pieces of money, and departed. The proprietor of the five loaves took up five pieces, and left three for the other; who objected, and inſiſted for one half. The cauſe came before Ali, who gave the following judgment: "Let the "owner of the five loaves have ſeven pieces "of money; and the owner of the three "loaves, one: for if we divide the eight "loaves by three, they make twenty-four "parts; of which he who laid down five "loaves, had fifteen; whilſt he who laid "down three, had only nine: as all fared "alike, and eight ſhares was each man's pro-"portion, the ſtranger ate ſeven parts of the "firſt man's property, and only one belong-

"ing to the other: the money, in juſtice, "muſt be divided accordingly."

In after times, in the various Mohammedan ſtates, the Law appears to have been ſtrangely perverted; and the ſatiriſts are, in conſequence, uncommonly ſevere. "Formerly, ſays a poet, the judges were naked "ſwords, and the guilty only trembled; now "they are empty ſheaths, and gorge themſelves with the plunder of the ſuitors. — "Are you indigent, ſays another, and have "you the misfortune to be at law with the "rich: withdraw your ſuit; go to your "powerful oppreſſor, and humble yourſelf "in the duſt: there you may perhaps meet "with juſtice and mercy: with the Cadhi "you can have none." And in fact no cenſure appears ever to have been more juſtly grounded; for in the Eaſtern languages, there are not only words ſignifying Bribes to Judges; but others, which denote Men whoſe public and profeſſed employment was, The corrupting of magiſtrates, to procure deciſions contrary to equity and law. We may form indeed a judgment of the general adminiſtration, or rather perverſion, of juſtice, under ſome of the Khalifs, from an appointment of Moctader; who, about the beginning of the tenth century, promoted a young damſel, named

Yemika, to be preſident of *Diwanu'l'mezalim*, one of the principal tribunals of the empire; which took cognizance of the tyranny and oppreſſion of governors and other great men. [c]

THE following curious anecdote is told, in the Negariſtan, of a famous lawyer of Baghdad, called Abu Joſeph. It marks ſeveral peculiarities in the Mohammedan law, and diſplays ſome caſuiſtical ingenuity in adapting them to the views of his clients. The Khalif Haron Arraſhid had taken a fancy for a female ſlave belonging to his brother Ibrahim. He offered to purchaſe her; but Ibrahim, though willing to oblige his ſovereign, had ſworn, that he would neither ſell nor give her away. As all parties wiſhed to remove this difficulty, Abu Joſeph was conſulted; who adviſed Ibrahim to give his brother one half of the ſlave, and to ſell him the other. Happy to be relieved from this embarraſſment, the Khalif ordered 30,000 dinars for the moiety of the ſlave; which Ibrahim, as a mark of his acknowledgment, immediately preſented to the lawyer. But a ſecond difficulty now aroſe. The Moſlem law prohibits all commerce between a man and the wife or concubine of his brother, till ſhe has been re-married and divorced by a third perſon. Abu Joſeph adviſed the Khalif to marry her to one of his

ſlaves; who, for a proper conſideration, would be eaſily induced to repudiate her on the ſpot. The ceremony was inſtantly performed: but the ſlave, falling in love with his handſome ſpouſe, could not be prevailed upon to conſent to a ſeparation. Here was a ſtrange and unexpected dilemma; for, all deſpotic as the Khalif was, he durſt not compel him. But Abu Joſeph ſoon diſcovered an expedient. He deſired the Khalif to make a preſent to the lady of her new huſband, which virtually diſſolved the marriage; as no woman, by the Mohammedan law, can be the wife of her own ſlave. Overjoyed that the Gordian knot was thus ſo ingeniouſly unlooſed, the Khalif gave him 10,000 dinars; and the fair ſlave receiving a conſiderable preſent from her royal lover, preſented him with 10,000 more: ſo that Abu Joſeph, in a few hours, found his fees amount to 50,000 dinars, or nearly 25,000 l. [d]

To thoſe ſtrictures many might be added: but I am already led too far; and time obliges me to conclude. The ſubjects touched upon, in this Diſſertation, are various; and ſome of them may be diſcovered, perhaps, to have been too ſlightly conſidered. I have differed freely from very high authorities; but, ſenſible how much eaſier it is to point out errors

than to avoid them, I ſubmit myſelf as freely to the deciſion of every intelligent reader. Be it delivered with the temper of the gentleman and the ſcholar, I ſhall be proud of every ingenious criticiſm; and endeavour to improve by a diſcovery of my faults. I am not attached to a ſingle idea that may be found inconſiſtent with truth or propriety; and ſhould, with far leſs pain, ſee the moſt favourite theory fall before a judicious inveſtigation, than be juſtly cenſured for a failure in candour or politeneſs.

PROOFS

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Page 2. [a] AMONGST other proofs which I propoſe to offer in the courſe of this diſquiſition, one appears to me to be of high authority; I mean radical words in the Eaſtern tongues, expreſſive of peculiar habits, or inventions; the exiſtence of the terms being poſitive evidence of the pre-exiſtence of the objects which they deſcribe. In this mode of proof I ſhall advance no words which appear to have been adopted from the Grecian or other foreign languages; as theſe could demonſtrate no originality: and I ſhall avoid all circumlocutory deſcription, as that can prove no antiquity. Whatever is expreſſed by a number of words, we ſhall, for the moſt part, find, is neither perfectly nor generally known: it is only when the idea has become familiar, that the ſuperfluity of phraſe is dropt, and the principal word becomes ſufficient to make the whole completely underſtood.

P. 3. [b] See this Diſſertation, Chap. ii.

P. 4. [c] St. Ephraim and St. Baſil inſiſt that the Aramean or Meſopotamian dialect of the Syriac, was that in which God delivered his commands to Adam; the Maronites, or Eaſtern Chriſtians, contend for the Chaldaic; James Biſhop of Roha, Bochart, and others, give the precedence to the Hebrew; Eutychius ſupports the Greek;

Mr. Webb the Chineſe; Goropius Becanus and Pezron are warm for the Teutonic; whilſt Gregory Nyſſaeus declares his antagoniſt Eunomius an impious heretic, for ſuppoſing Man to have received any language whatever from God. See alſo D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 514. Sharpe on the Origin of Languages, p. 2. 6. &c. —The learned Bochart has given us a liſt of about twenty languages, ſuppoſed to have been in uſe in very early ages; and has arranged them, with regard to antiquity, in the following order: The Hebrew, the Chaldaic or Syriac, the Arabic, Phœnician, Egyptian, the Azotian or Philiſtine, the Perſian, Parthian, Median, Elamite, Cappadocian, Pontic, Aſiatic, Phrygian, Pamphilian, Libyan, Cretan, and Lycoanic, together with the Greek and Latin; all of which (the three firſt, the Perſian, and two laſt excepted) were, probably, only dialects of the principal tongues. See Bochart, Phaleg, p. 47. &c.

P. 5. [d] See Preface to Arabic Lexicon of Golius, p. 1. Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe to his tranſlation of the Alcoran, p. 33. et ſeq.

P. 6. [e] D'Herbelot, p. 513 and 514. Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 37, &c.

P. 7. [f] The ſeven principal Moallakat Poems are in Pocock's Collection in the Bodleian Library of Oxford, N° 164. And in another volume, N° 174. are above forty more, which had been alſo honoured by being hung up in the Kaaba.

P. 8. [g] The ſubjects of Amralkeis revolting from him, he took refuge at Ancyra in Galatia; where he died, according to ſome Mohammedan writers, in conſequence of wearing a poiſoned ſhirt, ſent to him by Heraclius Emperor of Greece, who had taken offence at ſome ſatires ſuppoſed to have been levelled at him by that prince.

P. 9. [h] Pocock, in his Preface to the *Carmen Tograi*, mentions a circumſtance which may give ſome idea of the pains which the Arabians have taken with their language. A king having ſent to a grammarian for the books in his poſſeſſion relative to that tongue, he deſired the meſſenger to inform the monarch, that, if he wiſhed to have them, he muſt ſend ſixty camels to carry the dictionaries alone. The Arabians, like the Greeks, were extremely attentive to poliſh their language, and turn their periods: a rhythmical cadence, called سجع *ſuja*, being in general ſtrictly obſerved in all their beſt orations and proſe writings. The claſſical Arabic has received no change ſince Mohammedaniſm; nor for many years before.

P. 9. [i] مولى *moula* from the ſame root ولى *veli* ſignifies A prince, &c. and alſo A ſlave.

P. 10. [k] Sale's Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 34. D'Herbelot 87, 589. and 705. Tarikhu'l'moſlemin, i. e. Hiſtoria Saracenica Thomæ Erpenii, p. 193. &c. Preface to Carmen Tograi by Pocock. Arabic Grammar by the author of this Dictionary, p. 4.—The vizir Moklah had his hand afterwards cut off, on being convicted of a conſpiracy: when he upbraided the court for cutting off that hand which had been ſo uſeful and ornamental to learning.

P. 13. [l] By Pliny, Zoroaſter is called a Proconneſian; by Suidas, an Aſſyrian and Medo-Perſian; by others, he is ſtiled a Pamphylian, an Armenian, a Bactrian, an Indian, and a Chineſe. His era is ſtill more wide of poſſibility than his birth-place: Pliny (l. 30. c. 1.) places him him thouſands of years before Moſes: Hermadorus Platonicus, Hermippus, and Plutarch, 5000 years before the ſiege of Troy: Suidas, only 500 years before that period: Eudoxas, 6000 years before the death of Plato (which happened about 350 before Chriſt): Xanthus Lydius

600 years before Darius Hyſtaſpes. Juſtin, 1300 years before Sardanapalus: whilſt others fix him in the days of Ninus and Semiramis, who ſeem to be equally undefined with himſelf. Some Eaſtern writers place Zerdusht 1300 years after the flood: ſome make him the diſciple of Elija or Eliſha; others of Ozair, Ezra, or Eſdras. Some conſider him as Abraham: others as the uſurper Zohak: and ſome, according to D'Herbelot, (from the name *Mikhguſh*, which occurs in the *Tarikh Montekhab*) have conceived him to have been Smerdus Magus. But the greater number make him cotemporary with Kiſhtaſb, king of Perſia; and, conſequently, ſuppoſe him to have lived near 500 years before the Chriſtian era. See alſo D'Herbelot, p. 932. Hyde Religio Vet. Perſ. 312. 423. 443. et paſſim. Bryant's Mythology, Vol. II. p. 106. Univerſal Hiſt. (fol. edit.) Vol. II. p. 204. Jones's Hiſtory of the Perſian language, ſubjoined to his Life of Nadir Shah, p. 157. Chardin, Tom. V. chap. iii.

P. 13. [b] The Arabic words *Dounia* the world; *Min din* from religion; *Zeman* time; *Sanat* a year; *Molk* a king; *Gunm* cattle; *Lelia* night; *Ab* a father; *Am* a mother; *Zamam* compleated; and a variety more occur repeatedly in different parts of M. Anquetil's Zend Aveſta.

P. 14. [c] The following and ſimilar words could hardly ever have been articulated by a Perſian: *Rathvanmtché*, *Khſchetreiao*, *Iaerienmtché*, *Thworeſchtara*, *Veretreghnhetché*. For the ſatisfaction of thoſe who are converſant with the the modern Perſian, I ſhall here inſert the beginning of the *Vendidad Sadé*, with the Latin tranſlation which M. Anquetil has annexed; and leave them to determine whether (one or two modern words excepted) there ſubſiſts the leaſt affinity between them.

Pe nanmé Iezdann: Pavan ſchaméh dadar Anhouma; freſtoié ſetéôném ſetéômé eſchem vôhou ſé fréoûérâné mezdéïeſnô Zeréthoſchtreſch vidéeoûo Ehoré dekéeſcho dâtâé hədé dâtâé vîdéoûâé Zeréthoſchtrâé eſchéoné eſchéhé rethvé ieſnâétché vehmaétché kheſchnéothrâétché freſeſteïéetché rethvanm éïérenanmtché aſnïenanmtché mâhïénanmtché iaerïenanmtché ſerédénanmtché i. v. kh. f. djé khoſchnoumen betha hoêté parié Sreoſchéhé eſchïéhé tokméhé tenomanthréhé dreſchîdreſch.

In nomine Dei. In nomine juſti judicis Ormuzd. effusè precor animam, effusè precor. puro abundantia 3 ire facio τῦ Ormuſd cultor Zoroaſtrianus cui adverſatur Dew τῦ Ormuſd reſponſum, dato huic dad vendi Zoroaſtri puro ſancto magno izeſchné (ago) néaeſch (ago) placere cupio, vota facio. temporibus diebus, τοῖς gahan, menſibus, τοῖς gahanbar, annis i. n. p. v. quodcumque khoſchnoumen ſedens ſit, lege. τῳ Seroſch puro valido corpori obedienti gloria (τῦ Ormuſd fulgenti). Zend Aveſta Vol. I. part ii. p. 77.

P. 16. [d] The Perſian, in point of regularity, is perhaps not to be excelled by any language in the world. As one general rule, the third perſon of the preſent tenſe ends in د *d*; the only exceptions, which I can at preſent recollect, being است *eſt* and هست *heſt*, He is. In the Zend, on the contrary, the terminations of this perſon are irregular to the laſt degree. I ſhall mention a few examples. *Aſchti*, *enghem*, *eoûed*, *heeté*, *beouad*, il eſt. *Eenetôed*, *eenetôeſch apeoueteeé*, il connoit. *Djemad*, *gueteen*, il vient. *Djemeeté* il arrive. *Djeto*, *ghnad*, il frappe. *Snes* il frappe; il brule. *Veiozoſchtao* il fait. *Eſchto* il s'applique. *Reſo* il arrange. *Guethad* il ſaute. *Moſtemeſcho* il meurt. — In which few words, excluſive of the want of ſimilarity in the penults

and antepenults, there are no leſs than eight variations in the final letters. Were it of conſequence, many more could be brought.

P. 17. * *Ormuzd* (Omnipotence) and *Zoroaſter* are introduced in dialogue. The lawgiver wiſhes to know how a man ſhould get rid of a demon called *Daroudj Neſoſch*, ſuppoſing him, in the ſhape of a fly, to have taken poſſeſſion of the crown of his head; *Ormuzd* directs him to waſh the part, which would drive the fiend between the eyebrows; from thence he is to be forced, by another ablution, to the back of the head; from that to the ear, then to the noſe, the mouth, the chin: till at length, fighting every inch of ground, the poor devil is ſucceſſively driven over every part of the body, till we find him ſtationed on the left foot; when Zoroaſter thus proceeds in his catechiſm; (what is between hooks being M. Anquetil's explanatory interpolations, and not in the original).

" Lorſque l'eau a atteint le deſſus du pied gauche où ſe " retire le Daroudj Neſoſch? Ormuzd reſpondit: (le Da- " roudj Neſoſch) ſous la forme d'une mouche ſe place deſ- " ſous le pied; il faut le lever, laiſſant les doigts poſer à " terre, et laver ainſi le deſſous du pied droit. Lorſque " l'on a lavé le deſſous du pied droit, le Daroudj Neſoſch " ſe retire ſous le pied gauche. Lorſque l'on a lavé le deſ- " ſous du pied gauche le Daroudj Neſoſch ſous la forme " d'une mouche, ſe place deſſous les doigts, Laiſſant donc " (poſer à terre) le deſſous du pied, on leve les doigts, et " on lave ceux (du pied) droit. Lorſque l'on a lavé les " doigts du pied droit, le Daroudj Neſoſch ſe retire ſous " ceux (du pied) gauche; et lorſqu'on a lavé les doigts " du pied gauche, le Daroudj Neſoſch eſt reverſé (viancu " et s'en retourne) du côté du Nord, lui qui, ſous la

" forme d'une mouche, ſe place ſur (l'homme impur) et " le frappe comme le Djodge (chien) des déſerts, détruit " les productions des Dews et leurs demeures," &c.

When the water has reached to the top of the left foot, where does the Daroudj Neſoſch retire? Ormuſd replied: (The Daroudj Neſoſch) under the form of a fly, places himſelf under the foot; it muſt be raiſed, letting the toes reſt on the ground, and thus waſh the under part of the right foot. When the under part of the right foot is waſhed, the Daroudj Neſoſch retires under the left foot. When the under part of the left foot is waſhed, the Daroudj Neſoſch, in the form of a fly, places himſelf under the toes. Allowing the ſole of the foot (to reſt upon the ground) the toes muſt be raiſed, and thoſe of the right (foot) waſhed. When the toes of the right foot are waſhed, the Daroudj Neſoſch retires under thoſe of the left (foot); and when the toes of the left foot are waſhed, the Daroudj Neſoſch is overthrown (conquered, and returns) towards the north, he who under the ſhape of a fly places himſelf upon (the impure man) and ſtrikes him like the *Djodje* (dog) of the deſert, deſtroys the productions of the Dews and their dwellings, &c. Zend Aveſta par M. Anquetil du Perron, Vol. I. part. ii. p. 341.——Can human credulity ſuppoſe this to be the compoſition of Zoroaſter, or of any man who had pretenſions to common ſenſe?

P. 18. [f] In the Preface to the *Farhang Jehanguiri* we are informed, that it was not reckoned elegant in the Deri to uſe ſyncopes; the following or ſimilar words being never admitted; as گو (ſpeak thou), رو (go thou), فزودن (to increaſe), &c. they being always written بگو ، برو and افزودن. The ſoftneſs of this language, in the opinion of the Aſiatics, may be learnt from a popular ſaying, re-

ported by *Ebn Fekreddin Anju*, author of the above Dictionary, "That the *Deri* and the *Arabic* idioms were the "languages of heaven: God communicating to the angels his milder mandates in the delicate accents of the "firſt; whilſt his ſtern commands were delivered in the "rapid utterance of the other."

Bahaman or Ardeſhir Dirazdeſt is generally ſuppoſed to be Artaxerxes Macrocheir or Longimanus. Ardeſhir Dirazdeſt implies The ſtrong lion with the long hands: an epithet ſuppoſed to have been given him on account of the greatneſs of his power and the extent of his empire. Baharam was contemporary with Theodoſius II. emperor of Greece, and is known in Europe by the name of *Varanes* or *Vararanes*.

P. 20. [8] Ardeſhir Babegan having entertained ſome doubts relative to the national religion, ordered the chief prieſts of the Magi to attend, in order to have them explained; when the king, on propoſing his doubts, delivered himſelf as follows:

نمایند ان بمن تا شك زکیهان
کنم دور و هادیرم دین یزدان
همي خواهم کي زان برهان نمایند
حقیقت بر همه کیهان نمایند

Numayend an bemen ta ſhek zegeihan
Kunem dur wa hadirem din yezdan
Hemi khahem ki zan burhan numayend
Hekiket ber hemé geihan numayend.

Let them ſhow it to me, that doubt from the world
I may drive far off, and embrace the religion of God.
I wiſh that by this deciſion they would ſhow
The truth; to all the world ſhow it.

N. B. هاديرم in the ſecond line is either an old word, now obſolete, or an error; if the laſt, it may be corrected by ſubſtituting بذيرم or كيرم, or ſome ſuch ſynonymous word. See Hyde's Religio Veterum Perſarum, p. 18. It may be proper to obſerve, that, in the Old Perſian mode of writing, every vowel has a diſtinct character: to write in that manner, the above would run as follows;

نومايند ان بامان تا شاك زيكايهان
كونام دور وا هاديرام دين يازدان
هامبي خاواهام كي زان بورهان نومايند
هاتيقات بار هامه كايهان نومايند

All the other paſſages ſcattered through the *Religio*, as *Old Perſian*, are, like the above, ſimply the modern language in ancient characters.

P. 22. [a] It is aſtoniſhing to conſider the number of miſtakes into which, in the various lines of literature, the beſt of our European authors are led, by their inattention to the languages and writings of the Eaſt. *Mariana*, the chief hiſtorian of Spain, when introducing the Arabian conqueſt of that country, with an account of the Mohammedan religion, ſays, "Fundador de aquella malvada ſu-"perſticion fue Mahoma Arabe de nacion: el qual por la "mucha proſperidad que tuvo en las guerras, y por deſ-"cuydo del emperador Heraclio, ſe llamò y coronò la Sy-"ria, &c." Vid. tomo primero, p. 311. "The foun-"der of this accurſed ſuperſtition was Mahomet, an Ara-"bian by birth; who, in conſequence of his great ſucceſs "in war, and the negligence of the emperor Heraclius, "declared himſelf king of his nation, and was crowned in "Damaſcus, the moſt noble city of Syria."—In an event

of some importance to the history of Spain, a Spanish historian should have been better informed: but Mohammed never assumed the dignity of king, and never was at Damascus, nor out of Arabia from the period of his appearance in his prophetic character, excepting in the ninth year of the Hejra (A. D. 630.) when he advanced no farther than Tabuc, half way between Medina and Damascus, and returned after a residence of only three weeks. — Dr. Hyde erroneously places the Persian conquest under the reign of Othman, A. D. 646. See Religio Vet. Pers. p. 23. See also Dictionary سال.

P. 23. [b] The Parsis of Surat, in their *Ravaats*, or collections of traditions, have doomed Alexander to the infernal regions; not for ravaging the country of their ancestors, but for having committed to the flames the *Nosks* or sections of the *Zend Avesta*.

P. 23. [c] Arrian de exped. lib. iii. and vii. Pliny lib. xxviii. cap. 2. For the form of invocation, See Macrobius, in the Secret things of Sammonicus Serenus.

P. 24. [d] See Alcoran, chap. ix.

P. 25. [e] The number of manuscripts supposed to have been burnt, exceeded 500,000. They were distributed as fuel to the keepers of 4000 public baths. Some however are supposed to have been privately saved.

P. 27. [f] See Hyde's Religio Vet. Pers. p. 458. Porta xiv. τῦ Sadder. — Anquetil de Perron, Vol. I. P. 2. p. 401. Vol. II. 117, 118.

The pretended Latin original of Milton's Paradise Lost; and the History of Formosa by the Jew *Psalmanasar*, amongst other literary forgeries, are well known. Psalmanazar invented even a language, sufficienty original, copious, and regular, to impose upon men of very extensive learning. [g] See Dictionary بغداد *Baghdad*.

P. 28. [h] The Khalif Al Tai revived in favour of *Azeddoulah* the title of شاهنشاه *Shahinſhah*, which was borne by the ancient kings of Perſia. See Erpenius's edition of *Tarikh ul moſlemin*, or Hiſtoria Saracenica, p. 237. — See alſo Dictionary under امير *emir*.

P. 29. [i] See Dictionary شاه نامه *Shah namé*. Father Angelo, author the *Gazophylacium Linguæ Perſarum*, who went a miſſionary to the Eaſt in 1663, ſays, p. 199) that the language of the *Shah namé* is conſidered, in Perſia, as the idiom of their ancient kings and heroes; and that it is ſtill ſpoken in the province of Shirvan, near the Caſpian Sea, by a people who live in tents. This, if authentic, furniſhes another ſtrong argument, that all the difference between the Ancient and Modern dialects, conſiſts entirely in a diverſity of character, and in the preſent intermixture of the Arabic.

P. 30. [k l m] D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 105, 812, 983. See alſo the Negariſtan.

P. 33. [n] Amongſt many inſtances of Tamerlane's attention to the encouragement of literature, he preſented Firuzbadi, author of an Arabic Dictionary, with 5000 pieces of gold, as a reward for his induſtry and learning. See Dict. قاموس *kamus*.

P. 35. [o] Many valuable works, of the compoſition of the laſt centuries, may nevertheleſs be ſcattered over the Eaſt; which ingenious and learned travellers may in time diſcover.

P. 36. [p] *Mahmoud*, Sultan of *Ghezna*, invaded Hindoſtan twelve times: the firſt was in the year 1000. The *Ghaurid* dynaſty commenced in 1157; and gave way to the *Patans* about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Baber, the great grandſon of Tamerlane, after four invaſions, defeated *Ibrahim Lodi*, the laſt emperor of this race, and mounted the throne in the year 1525. The preſent Great Mogul is his lineal deſcendant. — With regard to the prevalence of the Arabic and Perſian in the Hindoſtan or Moors, any perſon converſant with thoſe languages may be convinced, by running his eye over the vocabularies of the vulgar dialect, which have been publiſhed by Meſſrs. Hadley and Ferguſon. In the Nagree and Bengal, nothing has indeed hitherto appeared; my opinion, in reſpect to them, is founded, therefore, upon the number of words which I have occaſionally heard mentioned, as belonging to theſe idioms, which were, in fact, Arabic. I ſhall confine myſelf to one ſtrong example. In the trial of the *Maharajah Nuncomar* for forgery, before the ſupreme court of judicature at Bengal, one of the interpreters, whoſe practical knowledge of the Perſian and Hindoſtan languages appears to be uncommonly extenſive, being aſked by the court, what word the witneſs, then examined, made uſe of to expreſs *Bond*; he anſwers, "*Temaſook*, which is "a Perſian word; it is *Khut* in the Nagree language." But neither تمسك *temaſook* nor خط *khut* are of Perſian or Nagree original, being both adopted from the Arabic. [N. B. In the printed trial *Immaſook* is the word uſed, which is an error.] It may alſo be obſerved, that many of the witneſſes who are examined in the Moors, in the Nagree, and in the Bengal dialects, uſe a variety of words; as سکہ دوات *ficca dewat* A ſilver ink ſtandiſh; جواب سوال *jawab ſawal* Queſtion and anſwer, or converſation, (ſee Trial, p. 53, 54.) with many other words which occur in different parts of the trial. — For the manner in which the Arabic and Perſian are incorporated in the Malay, See

Maleiſchè Spraakunſt (a Dutch Grammar of that dialect) by George Henrik Werndly.—The language of the Turks, it may be here obſerved, is called مولع *muwella*, which literally implies a horſe, a bull, or other animal, of different colours; their dialect being a mixture of Turkiſh, Arabic, and Perſian. This name, for the ſame reaſon, ſeems to be alſo applicable to the languages of India.—Amongſt other Arabic and Perſian words, which I find technically uſed in the Code of Gentoo Laws, are (p. 41. 44. 53. &c.) ايام شادي *ayami ſhadee* Days of marriage. ايام is the plural of the Arabic يوم *yum* A day; and شادي *ſhadi* is a Perſian word ſignifying Gladneſs. *Fakeer* A religious mendicant (p. 40. &c.) is derived from the Arabic root فقر Poverty, &c. *Haram* A ſeraglio, (p. 79.) comes from the root حرم Forbidden, unlawful, &c. *Vakeel* (p. 105.) An agent, adminiſtrator, &c. is from the root وكل Committing to another the management of one's affairs. There are many more, as *Muſnud*, *reyots*, *ihtimandar*, *ſhebbi tareekee*, &c. but it is unneceſſary to ſwell this note with a multitude of examples. Theſe furniſh a ſufficient ground for enquiry; which, I am perſuaded, the ingenious Mr. Halhead, to whom we are indebted for the Engliſh tranſlation of this Code, will be able fully to inveſtigate, together with many points of more importance: as we are with pleaſure informed, (pref. xxxvii.) that he had been happy enough to become acquainted with a Bramin of extenſive knowledge, who had undertaken to teach him the Shanſcrit language.

P. 38. [a] Though I have taken the liberty of pointing out what I conceive to be miſtakes in ſome very eminent men; yet I ſhould be very uncandid, if I did not acknowledge, that I have, at the ſame time, derived from them

much information; and from none more than Mr. Bryant's Mythology; D'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale; and Dr. Hyde's Religio Veterum Perſarum. I have often taken the benefit of the reſearches and opinions of thoſe and other learned men: and make this general acknowledgment, where, through haſte or inadvertency, I may have omitted to mention my authorities.

P. 40. [b] Bryant's Mythology; Newton's Chronology; Jackſon's Chronological Antiquities; and in general almoſt every chronologer. They for the moſt part proceed upon ſyſtem; and are all in oppoſition to one another.

P. 41. [c] Bryant's Mythol. Vol. I. p. 130. 145. &c.

[d e f g h i] See this Diſſertation, Chap. I. Sect. ii. Chap. II. Sect. i. ii.

P. 48. [k] See Dict. عجم *ajim*. D'Herbelot, p. 135. 234. 703. 761.

P. 50. [l] See Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology, p. 52. et paſſim. Alſo Preface to Jones's Hiſt. of Nadir Shah.

P. 56. [c] *Kings of Perſia according to the Greeks.*

Cyaxares, the ſon of Aſtyages, ante Chr. 610.	Artaxerxes Longimanus.
Darius the Mede.	Xerxes II.
Cyrus.	Sogdianus.
Cambyſes.	Darius the Baſtard.
Smerdis Magus.	Artaxerxes Mnemon.
Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes.	Artaxerxes Ochus.
Xerxes.	Arſes or Arogus.
Artabanus.	Darius Codomannus.
	Alexander, ante Chr. 330.

The above liſt I have given, as the moſt authentic, from Sir Iſaac Newton; Herodotus, Xenophon, Pauſanias, Juſtin, and other hiſtorians, differing ſo remarkably, eſpecially with regard to the names, eras, and acts of the early

kings, that, if it was of the leaſt importance to reconcile them, it would be impoſſible.

Kings of Perſia according to the Perſians.

Kai Kobad, ante Chr. about 600.	Ardeſhir or Bahaman.
	Queen Homai.
Kai Kaus.	Darab.
Kai Khoſrou.	Darab II.
Lohoraſb.	Eſkander or Alexander, ante Chr. 330.
Kiſhtaſb.	

The כורש *Coreſh* of *Iſaiah*, *Daniel*, &c. does not correſpond with Cyrus, as will be obſerved hereafter.

[d] See Homer Od. Γ v. 69.

P. 60. [e] دارا A *king*. داراب (from the participle of داشتن to *have*, *poſſeſs*, &c. and اب *water*); or perhaps دارا داراب *Dara Darab*, *King Darab*; as *Dara* appears rather to have been a general epithet, like *King*, *Sultan*, &c. than the peculiar name of any individual prince. Any argument drawn thence by Sir Iſaac Newton and others, therefore, that the *Perſian* coins called *Darics*, current in Greece and Aſia Minor, were coined by *Darius the Mede*, after the defeat of *Cræſus*; or, according to ſome, by *Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes*, ſeems by no means concluſive; either as to the date of the coinage, or even the exiſtence of thoſe princes: as *Darics* might have been ſtruck by any *Dara* or king of Perſia, as the *Sultanines* might have been coined by any or all of the *Sultans of Egypt*.—همای *Homai* ſignifies A *bird of Paradiſe*, &c.—روشنا *Roſhana*, in Perſian, ſignifies *Splendor*, &c. and is evidently the *Roxana* of the Greeks.

P. 62. [f] M. D'Herbelot, from this event, and the word *Beizet*, derives the *Bezant* or *Bezantine* wedge of gold;

and not from the town of *Byzantium*, as generally imagined. But this ſeems a conjecture too refined to be juſt. The whole of this ſtory, as far as relates to Philip, it muſt be acknowledged, is to the laſt degree doubtful; being diametrically in oppoſition to the moſt probable and beſt ſupported period of the Hiſtory of Greece. Beſides, had there ever been a tribute of golden eggs impoſed by the Perſians on Philip or any other prince, خايه *khaiyé*, مرغانه *murghané*, or ſome word originally Perſian, would have been uſed; and not بيضة *Beizet*, which, being *Arabic*, muſt only have been introduced into Perſian writings ſubſequent to the Arabian conqueſt. Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 286 and 318.

P. 65. [a] Many of the ſilver coins of the Aſhcanian kings, commonly called Parthians, bore Greek legends. See Father Eraſmus Froelich in his Elementa Numiſmatica, Tab. xiv. &c. alſo Mr. Foſter on the Parthian epocha, in the Archeologia of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol. III. p. 159. N. B. This learned gentleman (p. 164.) interprets *Arſakas*, *Glory of war*; but he produces no authority; and it does not even appear to be a Perſian word. The name of the founder of this dynaſty is named اشك *Aſhek* by the Aſiatics.

D'Herbelot ſays, (p. 867.) from the authority of Maſſoudi, in a book called Moroujo'l'dhahab, that a collection of old Perſian hiſtorians had been tranſlated into Arabic by an author named Ebn Mocanna.

The celebrated Khondemir obſerves, in the Preface to his Univerſal Hiſtory, "That ſince the age of reaſon and "diſcernment, he had employed his time inceſſantly in the "reading and reſearch after hiſtory, collecting every thing "uſeful and agreeable from the works of the beſt writers:

" when having been invited, by the Emir Ali Shir, to ſu-
" perintend a valuable library, filled particularly with hiſ-
" torians, carefully collected at a great expence, he had
" there reſolved to digeſt the labours of his life." This learned and magnificent prince was governor of Khoraſſan about the end of the fifteenth century. His noble library was depoſited in the city of Herat.

P. 67—70. [b c] Naſſer, who is alſo called Al Nodah, brought, among other things, from Perſia, a written romance of the adventures of Roſtam and Aſfendiar. See D'Herbelot, p. 664. See alſo Alcoran, chap. 31. A teller of tales, or reciter of hiſtories, is called in Perſian نيرنج *nirenj*.—The evening converſations which the Arabians hold, ſitting around their tents, are called سمر *ſemir*.

P. 71, &c. [d] No people in the world are greater genealogiſts than the Arabians, Perſians, and Tartars. One book of Arabian genealogies alone, called اللبوب *allobub* (i. e. the hearts or the purity of the nobleſſe), exceeds 100 volumes. See Dict انساب *anſab*. See alſo افراسياب *afraſiab*, ترك *turk*, and سفي *ſefi*; and this diſſertation, p. 28. and 57. See D'Herbelot under the different articles mentioned in the text. See likewiſe Abulgazi Khan's Genealogical Hiſtory of the Tartars, chap. 11.

P. 74. [e] Mahmoud Sebekteghin, Sultan of Ghezna, the moſt powerful prince of the eleventh century, was the ſon of a Turkiſh ſlave. Though a patron of learned men, he ſeems to have been an exception to the general rule; at leaſt I have not diſcovered that he aimed at a ſuperior origin, or conſidered the meanneſs of his birth as any inconveniency in the government of his empire.

P. 75. [f g] A writer called Haji Khalfa, has given us a

catalogue of Oriental hiſtorians, to the amount of above 1300. Even private noblemen have been ambitious of being known to poſterity; and the memoirs of their houſes have been carefully treaſured with their archives: a practice which, there is reaſon to believe, is ſtill univerſally continued; as we even obſerve in the diſcuſſions relative to the late diſputes at Madras: where frequent reference is made to various public and private records, in the poſſeſſion of the great men of Hindoſtan; but particularly to a manuſcript hiſtory of the family of the preſent Nabob of Arcot, compiled by order of his anceſtors when only ſimple Tartar noblemen. See Letter from Mahommed Ali Chan, Nabob of Arcot, to the Court of Directors of the Eaſt India Company, p. 17. 20. &c.

P. 76. [h] Beſides the great college at Baghdad, called *Madraſſat Al Nezamiat*, the College of *Nezam*, this vizir built others at Iſphahan, Baſſora and Herat. His maſter the Sultan Malekſhah founded many in different parts of his dominions. The Sultan Noureddin, who reigned in Syria in the time of the firſt Cruzades, founded one at Aleppo, and another at Damaſcus. The Univerſity which Saladin built at Cairo was ſo extenſive, that a large volume is filled with the deſcription of the particular colleges. Tamerlane eſtabliſhed a noble ſeminary at Samarcand. Moſt of the great Eaſtern princes took a pride in thoſe endowments: and they in general added to them Moſques, and Caravanſeras for the accommodation of travellers.

P. 79. [i k] Sclerus, a Greek general, who aſſumed the purple during the reign of the emperor Baſilius II. in the tenth century, took refuge at Baghdad, where he had many private conferences with Azaddadowla king of Perſia, and Emiru'l'Omra to the Khalif Al-Tay. This

prince is alſo repreſented as converſing familiarly with the ambaſſadors of Nicephorus Phocas. And an Arabian merchant, whom he had ſent to Conſtantinople as a private agent, appears to have been ſo excellent a Grecian, that he forged in that tongue, and buried, to be dug up at a proper time, a prophecy of an alliance between the emperor of Greece and his maſter, as king of Perſia. A converſation is much celebrated, both by the Greek and Mohammedan writers, between Sultan Alp Arſlan (Emiru'l'Omra to the Khalif Al Kaiem) and the emperor Diogenes Romanus, whom he defeated and took priſoner in the eleventh century. The Mohammedan prince treated his royal captive with uncommon politeneſs, and ſet him at liberty on the promiſe of about 700,000 *l.* of ranſom, an annual tribute to the khalifat of 140,000 *l.* and his daughter in marriage to the Sultan's ſon. As the Vizir Nezam was preſent at this interview between Alp Arſlan and Romanus: the following account of it may be conſidered as more authentic than that of any hiſtorian, European or Aſiatic. "After ſome diſcourſe, the Sultan aſked "the Emperor of Greece, what he ſhould do with him." The Emperor replied, "If you are a Butcher, kill me; "if a Merchant, ſell me; and, if a Prince, ſet me at li- "berty." The Sultan had compaſſion on him, and treat- "ed him with great kindneſs. Some time after, the army "beginning to march back, the Emperor ſaid to the Sul- "tan, I am here a priſoner; and it is certain the empire "will not be long without a head; for doubtleſs ſome "other will uſurp the government, and you will then be "put to the trouble of marching back to reduce him. "Now that all the paſſes and ſtrong holds are as yet in "the poſſeſſion of my dependants; if you ſend me home, "I will be one of your tributaries. The Sultan then re-

"turned him in a royal manner; and he yearly paid the ſti-
"pulated tribute; and ſent beſides a quantity of the fine
"cloths of that country as a preſent." The misfortunes and death of Romanus, it muſt be obſerved, prevented his paying the whole of his ranſom; but Alp Arſlan having afterwards twice defeated the generals of Michael Ducas, who ſucceeded Romanus, the tribute agreed to by Romanus was continued to be paid by the Emperors of Greece for many years. —— Amongſt other Greek and Roman authors, which were tranſlated into Arabic, are Homer, Plato, Ariſtotle, Euclid, Apollonius, Archimedes, Hippocrates, Galen, Dioſcorides, Ptolemy, Joſephus, Pliny. They alſo tranſlated many books from the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Indian languages. See alſo Tarikhu'l'Moſlemin or Hiſtoria Saracenica, p. 277.—See likewiſe Newton's Chronology, p. 375. General Hiſtory by Guthry and Gray, Vol. II. p. 195.

P. 82. [l] See Newton's Chronology, paſſim.

[e] See Mr. Bryant's Mythology, Vol. II. p. 97, &c. D'Herbelot, p. 455.—Errat. for Cteſias 2280 read 2075.

P. 85. [b] Dr. Rutherford's Syſtem of Natural Philoſophy, Vol. II. p. 849. Newton's Chron. p. 84. &c.

P. 87. [c] See Mr. Bryant's Mythology, Vol. II. p. 478. Strabo builds for the Argonauts cities in Colchis, Iberia, Armenia, Media, along the coaſt of Sinope on the Euxine; in Crete; in Italy, on the Adriatic, in the Gulph of Poſeidonium, and the Hetrurian iſles; on the Propontis, the Helleſpont, Lemnos, on the Ceraunian mountains of Epirus; beſides other ſtructures, of which he ſpeaks with leſs confidence, on the Celtic coaſt, at Cadiz, and even as far as India.—Archbiſhop Uſher, Biſhop Cumberland,

Dr. Jackſon, among other moderns, have conſidered this expedition, as hiſtorical truth.

P. 88. [d] Kings c. xiv. 25, 26.—2 Chron. c. xii. 2, 3. Newton's Chron. p. 17. et ſeq. and p. 193, 217. &c. Bryant's Mythology, Vol. II. p. 86.

P. 92. [a] Iſaiah, ch. xliv. 28. Ch. xlv. 1. &c. — Nehemiah, ch. xii. 10, 11. Jeſhua, Joaikim, Eliaſhib, Joaida, Jonathan, Jaddua; who are expreſsly ſaid, in v. 22 to be the prieſts till the reign of *Darius the Perſian*.—Cyrus being never queſtioned, uncommon difficulties are found in making the eras coincide. *Darius the Perſian*, ſays Sir Iſaac, muſt be *Darius Nothus*; for *Darius Nothus* we ſhould read *Darius Hyſtaſpes*; *Artaxerxes Mnemon* ſhould be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; and *Simeon Juſtus* ſhould be the high prieſt who met *Alexander*, and not *Jaddua*. See Newton's Chron. p. 358. et ſeq. — By this mode of alteration and ſubſtitution we may make any thing of any thing.

P. 93. [b] Eaſtern authors ſay, that *Ardeſhir*'s mother was of the tribe of Benjamin, and a deſcendant of Saul; alſo, that one of his favourite wives was of the tribe of Judah, and of the line of Solomon.

P. 100. [d] The firſt was the father of *Darius*, that is, *Achſuerus*, *Aſſuerus*, *Oxyares*, *Axeres*, or *Cyaxeres*, &c. *Newt. Chron.* p. 308.—*Xerxes*, *Achſchiroſch*, *Achſweres*, or *Oxyares*, ſucceeded his father *Darius*, &c. See p. 353.—Joſephus, the Septuagint, and Dr. Hyde, are apparently right with regard to the prince who married *Eſther*; yet notwithſtanding Dr. Hyde's opinion, (Relig. Vet. Perſ. p. 43.) it is not from the names that any analogy can be diſcovered. The king, in the Perſian hiſtorians, ſuppoſed to correſpond with Artaxerxes Longimanus, is *Ardeſhir Dirazdeſt*, or *Bahaman*, ſo often mentioned; but except-

ing the initials, there is not a corresponding letter in the words; nor any circumstance in sound or sense that can justify such corruption. *Ardeshir*, as before observed, (p. 93.) was a great friend to the Jews: his favourite wife, according to the Persians, was of that nation; his era and marriage will agree therefore perfectly well with the Ahasuerus of Scripture; who must, however, as well as the Jewish captivity, if this conjecture is found to be rational, be brought down about a century lower than the present chronology. —— In Nehemiah, Artaxerxes is written ארתחשסתא *Artesesta*: and Dr. Jackson in his Chronology Vol. I. p. 454. supposes him to be Xerxes; which, as will be hereafter shewn, is impossible. Artesesta and Artaxerxes are apparently Hebrew and Greek corruptions of a Persian royal title. And that there were two different princes so named in the Bible, will appear from Ezra and Nehemiah. The first was reigning in the year 522; and the other only began to reign in 466 before Christ. At the first of these periods the Greeks fill the Persian throne with Cambyses. See Ezra iv. 7. Nehemiah ii. 1.

Many words in Persian are written either with or without the initial *Elif* or *A*; اسکندر *Eskender* or سکندر *Sekender* Alexander. افریدون *Afridoun* or فریدون *Feridoun*. افشاندن *afshanden* or فشاندن *fushanden* To scatter. اکر *eger* or کر *ger* If. ابر *aber* or بر *ber* Upon. اشکل *ashkel* or شکل *shekel* A fetter, a shackle. اشکم *ashkem* or شکم *shekem* The belly, &c. If *Chosru* is written with an initial *A*, it forms *Akhosru*. In Hebrew *Ahasuerus* is אחשורוש, which, by the difference of pointing (a mere arbitrary modern innovation, and not in use till many centuries after those Sacred Books were written) may be

pronounced *Ahasuerus*, *Achasuerus*, *Achosurus*, *Achasurus*, &c. *as*, *es*, *os*, *us*, or *s*, being in general only Western terminations added to Eastern names; as *Darius* from *Dara*, *Sapores* from *Shapor*, *Hormisdas* from *Hormond*. The difference therefore between *Chosru* and *Ahasuerus* appears so simple, and so much in conformity with the idiom of the language, that it may rather be called a provincial variation than a corruption; there being many words in Scripture, which undeniably mean the same place, written with a much greater disagreement: the sacred writers, in matters of such trifling import as proper names, appearing always to have followed the general rule, of spelling such words after the manner in which the Jews then pronounced them.—The following is given as one example of the different manner of naming the same place: *Ararat*, the mountain where the ark rested after the flood, is called, by Jeremiah, *Ararat Minni*; the Syriac and the Chaldee paraphrast make it *Kardu*; the Samarito-Chaldaic version, *Tararah Sarnedib*; the Hebrew-Samaritan, *Hararat*; the Arabic, *Karda*; and the Vulgate, *Montes Armeniæ*. See *Ezra*, Chap. iv. 5. 6.

P. 102. ‘Many circumstances in our own times, it may be here observed, create no wonder, because they are familiar; but a little attention to them will often save us much trouble. How many different shapes does the same Christian name assume in the different nations of Europe? and if we allow such liberties to the ancients, which unquestionably they took, we shall be no more surprised at finding the same word differently pronounced by a *Hebrew*, a *Persian*, a *Syrian*, or a *Greek*; than by an *Englishman*, a *Frenchman*, a *Spaniard*, or an *Italian*. Could any thing but positive information induce an Asiatic to believe

that the following were the ſame names: *John*, *Joannes*, *Jean*, *Juan* (pronounced alſo *Huan*), *Ivan*, and *Giovanni*—*James*, *Jacobus*, *Jaques*, *Jago*, and *Giacomo*—*Joſeph* and *Giuſeppé*—*George* and *Jorje* (pronounced alſo *Horhe*)—*William*, *Guillielmus*, *Guillaume*, and *Guillermo*—*Walter*, *Gualterus*, *Gautier*, &c.

See this Diſſertation, p. 19. 29. and their notes.

There are many names in Eſther, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which are undoubtedly Perſian; and others which are probably ſo, though under Chaldaic and Hebrew diſguiſe; as *Eſther* from استر *eſter* or ستارا *ſitara* A ſtar; مهمان *mehman* A ſtranger or gueſt; مېشاخ *miſhakh* A vine branch; ملزار *melzar* A vineyard. وشتي *vaſhti* A beautiful or excellent woman. — גנזי *ginzi* or *ganzi* (*Eſth.* c. iii. 9.) ſeems to be the Perſian گنجي *gunji* or *ginji* A treaſury; and here the learned Bochart (Phaleg p. 69.) ſeems to have made a miſtake: for he ſays "Perſæ hodie "dicunt כנז *ceniz*;" كنز *kenz* in Arabic ſignifies Treaſure; but كنيز *keniz* or *ceniz*, in Perſian, ſignifies A girl; and the word in that language denoting A treaſury, as above obſerved, is exactly the ſame with that in the Bible: the difference of vowels being of no conſequence; and nothing being more common in the Eaſt, even at this hour, than pronouncing many words written with ج *j*, as if ſpelt with *z*; as فوجدار *foujdar* or *fouzdar*; گجرات *Gujerat* or *Guzerat*; چنگيز خان *Jengiz Khan* or *Zengiz Khan*.—Indeed almoſt every obſervation which this learned man has made, with regard to the Perſian, evidently ſhews that he did not underſtand it; and there are many circumſtances which render his knowledge of the Arabic queſtionable. Had he underſtood it, he could not eaſily have made the above obſervation on *ceniz*; any more than

the following: "Nehemiæ ii. 8. פרדס (pardes) *paradiſus* creditur eſſe Perſicum." فردوس *fardus* is however an Arabic word, as well as Hebrew: but it is foreign to the Perſian.—N. B. The Arabians having no پ *p*, uſe ف *b* or ب *f* inſtead of it.—Bochart's conjectures, with regard to *Paſargada*, (which, without neceſſity, he tranſpoſes to *Paraſgada*, and tranſlates Perſian army) *Charſahas*, *Shatroaj*, &c. p. 69 and 253 are alſo wrong.

P. 104. [1] See this Diſſertation, p. 18. et ſeq.

105. [2] See New Syſtem of Ancient Mythology, by Mr. Bryant, Vol. I. p. 226. "I am entirely a ſtranger to the "Perſic and Arabic languages." See Vol. III. p. 34. "In our progreſs to obtain this knowledge, we muſt have "recourſe to the writers of Greece. *It is in vain to talk* "*about the Arabian or Perſic literature of modern date*;" &c.

[b] See Preface to Vol. I.

P. 108. [c] Mr. Bryant ſays, Vol. III. p. 582. "It is "ſaid, that in the Shaſter of this people (Gentoos) a like "hiſtory is given of the earth being overwhelmed by a de-"luge, in which mankind periſhed." How ſhall we reconcile this with the following extract from the Preface to the Code of Gentoo laws, (p. xxxix.) "For then we at "once come to the immediate era of the Flood, which "calamity is never once mentioned in thoſe Shaſters; "and which yet we muſt think infinitely too remarkable "to have been even but ſlightly ſpoken of, much leſs to "have been totally omitted, had it even been known in "that part of the world. The Bramins indeed remove "this objection by two aſſertions: one, that all their "Scriptures were written before the time by us allotted "to Noah; the other, that the Deluge really never took "place in Hindoſtan."—See alſo Obſervations on the

Apamean Medal, by the Hon. Daines Barrington, in the Archeologia of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol. IV. p. 315.

P. 110. [d] Bryant's Mythol. Vol. I. Pref. p. vii. and xv.

P. 111, 112. [e f] The principal of these are, *Aur*, *our*, *or*; *el*; *on*, *aon*, or *oon*; *cham*, *ham*, or *hama*; *ait* or *aith*; *as*, *ees* or *is*; *san*, *son*, *zan* or *zaan*; *semen*; *arez*; *kur* or *cur*; *bel*, *bal* or *baal*; *ast*, *asta*, *esta* or *hestia*; *shem*, *shamen* or *shemesh*; *fer*; *tal*, &c. Bryant's Mythology, Vol. I. from p. 1. to 127. Vol. II. 190. and 535. Vol. III. Pref. p. vii. et passim. See also Dict. رجوم *rujum*.

P. 115. [g] العين *elain*, الاور *elaur*, عين الشام *ain el sham*, السايد and السعيد *el said* or *essaid*. See also Mythology, Vol. I. p. 15. and 16. Likewise Arab. Gramm. p. 10. See Moallakat Amralkeisi, dist. 27.

فقالت يمين الله ما لك حيلة
Fakalat yaminallahi ma lika hilatoun,

And she said, By the right hand of God, you shall not be deceived.

El implies likewise, *A race*, *family*, &c. in which sense, as a prefix or an adjunct to the name of the founder, it may denote any people descended from one common ancestor; but without marking any particular mode of worship: and we find it accordingly used often by historians, to distinguish the families of Eastern princes; as *Al Othman* The house of Othman, *Al Seljuk* The Suljukian dynasty, *Al Jengiz* The family of Jengiz. — See Dictionary ال — as the Persians generally add, in pronunciation, a short *i* to the noun which governs the genitive, they may be also written in our characters, *Ali Osman*, &c. N. B. *Othman* is the Arabian, and *Osman* the Persian pronunciation of عثمان See also Dict. الله

P. 116. [h] *Aun*, in Arabick, it may be obſerved, ſignifies *aſſiſtance, defender*, &c. *Elaun* might denote, therefore, The *defender*; *Ab-el-aun*, The *Father Defender*; which, whatever may have been the true origin, ſeems a more ſimple and unforced etymology, at leaſt, than the interpretations of *Summus Sol*, and *Pater Deus Sol*, for which no ſolid bottom can apparently be diſcovered. See Dict. عون See Woodward on the Wiſdom of the Egyptians, in the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol. IV. p. 212.

P. 119. [i] *Hamé*, Mr. Bryant ſays, Vol. I. p. 3. on the information of *Gale's Court of the Gentiles*, ſignifies the Sun in Perſic. The authority is ſuſpicious: I have been able to diſcover nothing ſimilar to it in that language; and muſt with-hold my belief. هام *Ham* or هامه *hamé*, ſignifies in Arabic, *inter alia*, A *prince* or *chief of a family*; and in that ſenſe may explain the origin of many names: whilſt حمه *hammé*, implying A *warm bath* or *ſpring*, might naturally give appellations to hot bituminous fountains, without forcing their etymological origin to the Sun, or to the patriarch *Ham*.

A tranſpoſition of radicals is to be found, though it occurs but ſeldom; as مدلوج or دملوج Bracelets; مغروسة or مزغوسة Confuſion, &c.

P. 120. [k] Mythology, Vol. I. p. 18. See alſo Dictionary لهة Hebrew אית *ait*; اذر *azer*, and ماء *mab* p. 1570. — The Arabians, &c. pronounce ذ *dh*, *ds*, or *th*; ض and ظ *dh*, *dd*, *dz*, *ds*, *dth*, all which the Perſians found ز. See alſo Arabic Gram. p. 9.

P. 121. [l] Mythology, Vol. I. p. 26. See alſo Dict. اس *as*, اساس *aſas*, and اسپس *aſis* — عز *az*, عزاز *azaz*, and عزيز *aziz*. See likewiſe اتش *atiſh*, and اد اس *ad-as*.

P. 123. [n] Mythology, Vol. I. p. 34. Vol. II. p. 122-3. &c. زون *zun* in Arabic, it may not be improper to obſerve, ſignifies an *idol* in general. — See alſo Dictionary. اذر *azer*, اذرسان *azerſan* or ادرسان *aderſan* and برذين *berzin*.

P. 126. [a] Mythology, Vol. I. p. 62. and 225. and 226. Vol. II. p. 461. *Heſtia* muſt be from a different root: In Perſian هستي *heſti* ſignifies *A being, ſubſtance, exiſtence, eſſence*; and in this ſenſe may have perhaps been uſed as the name, title, or attribute of a divinity. Iſtakhar ought properly to be ſpelt اسْتَخَر, but by the Arabians it is in general written اصطخر; whence Dr. Hyde has conceived the derivation to have been from صخر rocks. See Dict. ايستا, استا, استادن, ايستادن and خر خور

It may be obſerved, as a general rule, that the Perſians, Arabians, and Indians, writing without the ſhort vowels, and ſeldom in their manuſcripts affixing the vowel points, it is impoſſible to reduce them to any fixed ſtandard: the pronunciation of different kingdoms or diſtricts being, in many reſpects, diſtinct from one another. Where a word is ſpelt therefore in our characters *aſia*, *eſia*, *iſia*, *oſia*, or *uſia*, it makes, in general, no alteration in the ſenſe. Eaſtern nations have indeed not only a variation in pronouncing; but much of the apparent diſcrepance has ariſen from the different powers, which the different nations and individuals of Europe have given to thoſe vowels; and the arbitrary modes which tranſlators and travellers have laid down for expreſſing Oriental words in the characters of Europe: there being hardly, for example, two gentlemen from India, who, although ſounding the words preciſely in the ſame manner, will not, when expreſſing thoſe ſounds upon paper, differ remarkably in the compaſs of a

very few lines.—See Arabic Grammar, p. 5. and Preface to Specimen of Perſian Poetry, p. xiii.

It may be objected to thoſe etymologies, perhaps, that the word is moſt commonly written اصطخر: but, whilſt the authority of the author of the *Farhang Jehangiri*, who ſpells it in the true Perſian manner استخر, appears to be unqueſtionable on this ground; when we conſider, at the ſame time, that the character now in uſe amongſt thoſe Oriental nations, had no exiſtence (as obſerved above, p. 10.) till the tenth century of our era; and that *Iſtachar* was founded perhaps 2000 years before that period; thoſe particular letters, which the Arabians have ſince choſen to expreſs that name, can have no more weight in a diſcuſſion of this nature, than advancing the French manner of writing *Londres*, as an argument that *London* was an error.—See alſo Mythology, Vol. I. p. 65 and 66.

P. 130. °Hebrew שמש *ſhemeſh*. Arabic شمس *ſhems* The Sun. شام *ſham* Syria; with the article, الشام or الشامة *el ſham* or *eſhſhameh*.

D'Herbelot ſays, p. 772. that ſome Eaſtern geographers derive the name *Sham* from a *wart*; becauſe the country is ſtudded over with a number of ſmall hillocks, reſembling thoſe excreſcences on the face. Black moles on the face have ever been conſidered in the Eaſt as extremely beautiful; and circumſtances full as whimſical have often given names to places.—See alſo Dictionary سوري

See Mythology, Vol. I. p. 6. and 94. — The Oriental adjunct is ستان *ſtan* or ايستان *iſtan*, the participle of To ſtand, reſide, ايستادن, ايستادن, استادن or ايستاندن dwell, place, fix, &c. whence مغلستان or مغل ايستان *Mogul-iſtan* (part of Tartary). هندوستان or هندستان

Hindo-ſtan (India). هندوستان *Pars-iſtan* (Perſia). خوزستان *Chuz-iſtan* (Suſiana). This laſt country Mr. Bryant, as well as Bochart, ſuppoſes to have been ſo named from *Chus*; but z and ſ, as before obſerved, being diſtinct radicals, and never confounded but by error or vulgariſm, it has a very ſuſpicious bottom: whilſt خوز *Chuz* in Perſian ſignifies *a nation*; and is particularly applied to denote the inhabitants of this very diſtrict.

P. 130. ٢٩٢ *Aur* (Vol. I. p. 13.) ſeems to be the Arabic اور *ar, ir*; اري *ari, ira*; اوار *uwar* (plur. اور *awr* or *awar*) Heb. אור *aur*, which denote, amongſt other ſignifications, Fire, a fire-place, kindling a fire, heat (of the Sun, of fire, of thirſt, &c.) — *Ab* (Myth. Vol. I. p. 2.) is אב in Heb. and اب in Arab. *Father*. — *Ad* (p. 23.) Mr. Bryant conceives to be A *chief*, *king*, *lord*; and ſuppoſes, when doubled, that *adad* ſhould imply ſomething ſuperlative, as *A king of kings*; but ſuperlatives are not ſo formed in the Eaſtern dialects; and اد *ad* is perfectly ſynonymous with اداد *adad*; both, in Arabic, implying *Victory*, *ſtrength*, *ſuperior power*, &c. neither is *ada* the feminine of *ad*, ادا or ادي being a different root, ſignifying *aſſiſting*; alſo, *increaſing in ſtrength*, &c. None of thoſe words, at the ſame time, appear to ſignify *one*, according to Macrobius; nor *firſt*, agreeable to Mr. Bryant's conjecture. عد *Ad* and عداد *adad*, from another root, denote *Number* in general; and عدو *adu* (pl. اعدا *ada*) ſignifies *an enemy*: in all which ſenſes we can ſee ſufficient preſumption for the formation of proper names: and for their being figuratively applied to chiefs or conquerors, to friends as well as foes. —Our learned author next objects (p. 25.) to the de-

rivation of *Adam*, *adama*, *adamana*, and other ſimilar names, &c. from the Hebrew אדם, or the Arabic ادم, wiſhing to ſupport the Cuthites, by tracing ſuch places to *Adham*, which he tranſlates *Lord Ham:* but, whilſt *Ad* does not appear to ſignify a *Lord*; whilſt the veneration paid to *Ham* is by no means proved; and whilſt the texture of the Oriental languages, as above obſerved (p. 118.) will not allow the dropping of the medial *h*, we can ſee no ground for departing from the above roots; which not only denote the *Father of mankind*, but *man in general*, *a chief*, *concord*, *ſociety*, &c. which are, unqueſtionably, etymological grounds of ſuperior ſtrength to that which he propoſes. — *Semon*, he ſays, (p. 38.) ſignifies *Cœleſtis Sol*; but it appears to be ſimply the Arabic سما *ſema*, or the Perſian سمان *ſeman* or اسمان *aſuman* Heaven, without any particular reference to the Sun. *Di* or *Dio* a deity (p. 38.) appears to have ſome analogy to the Perſian دیو pronounced *dio*, *diu*, *dew*, or *div*, which implies *a ſupernatural being*, *a demon*, *a genie*, &c.—*Kur* (p. 39.) appears to be the Perſian خر or خور *Khur* The Sun. — *Cohen* or *Kahen*, he ſays, (p. 40.) appear to have been pronounced *Cahen* and *Chan*, and to have ſignified a *Prieſt*, and alſo a *Lord* or *Prince*. — کهن *kuhun* in Perſian and كاهن *kahen* Arab. (pl. كهنة *kehené* or *kehenet* and كهان *kehan*) ſignify *a prieſt*, *ſoothſayer*, *augur*, &c. But the word which denotes a prince is from a different root, being written خان *Khan*, the name by which the emperors of Tartary and other Eaſtern princes have been generally known. As for *Konah*, the title of Moſes, it differs from both, being the Hebrew קנה. — *Bel*, *Bal*, *Baal* (p. 45.); بعل in Ara-

bic ſignifies *a lord, a maſter*, &c. which appears to be the true meaning of this Babyloniſh idol's name; and no proof is brought of its being in any ſhape the particular repreſentative of the Sun.—*Keren* or *kern* (p. 46.) ſignifies, in Arabic, *a horn*; قرن *keren* denotes alſo *junction* in general, and قران *keran* A *happy conjunction of the planets:* it is alſo an epithet ſynonymous to *Felix* or *Auguſtus:* hence صاحب قران *ſaheb keran* has been a royal title adopted by many Oriental princes, eſpecially by *Tamerlane* and by *Shah Jehan* the Great Mogul, (See Dictionary p. 1033.)—ذو القرنين *Zulkernin* was alſo a title given to the two Alexanders, or *Caicobad* and *Alexander the Great*, (See Dict. سكندر). *Craneus* or *Carneus*, which Mr. Bryant mentions as titles of the Sun, may poſſibly be merely the Greek termination added to كران *keran* or *geran*, كرانه *kerané* or *gerané*, which, in Perſian, mean *great, grand, exalted, excellent*; epithets naturally applicable by the Perſians to that ſplendid body which was ſo long the chief oſtenſible object of their worſhip.—*Oph* A ſerpent, (p. 49.) may perhaps be analogous to the Arabic افعي *efa* or *efai* A viper; whilſt اوب *aub* ſignifies in Perſian A *large ſerpent* or the *Python*; and *Abadir*, which he interprets the *ſerpent deity*, may poſſibly be the Perſian اوب ادر *aubadir* ſignifying a *fiery ſerpent*.—*Ain* A fountain, (p. 51.) is the Arabic عين—Under this article, a note occurs (p. 56.) relative to *Damaſcus*, which is a further proof how much a reſemblance of ſounds may miſlead where there is no radical knowledge. He ſays, *Damaſec* is the city of the prince; but whilſt it is impoſſible to make a city of *Dam* or *Ad-ham*, شيخ *Sheikh* A prince, &c. is a root widely differing from the

terminating ſyllable of دمشك *Demſhek*, the common way of writing Damaſcus (See Dict.) — *Phi* or *fi* (p. 89.) في *Phi* in Arabic ſignifies the *mouth*: it is the genitive of فو *fu* or فوه *Phuh*; but it is alſo uſed in the nominative: whence في عين *Phi-aini* or *Phi-ainin* may imply, The *mouth of a fountain*. I ſhould much doubt, however, if *Pharaoh* can have any relation to this particle. فرعون *Phiraon* in Arabic ſignifies A *crocodile*; and the people of Egypt are called by them فرعون قومي *Phiraon Koumi* The people of the crocodile. It ſignifies alſo, metaphorically, a tyrant; but whether this meaning took its origin from the voraciouſneſs of the animal, or the animal was ſo named from the brutality of the prince, it may be difficult to determine. Some learned men, it may be obſerved, however, have doubted whether this word was ever adopted by the Egyptian kings, or applied by their ſubjects; conſidering it merely as a name of contempt, beſtowed upon them by neighbouring nations. *Phialé* ſeems to be the Perſian پیاله *pialé*, (it being common with the Arabians and other nations to change the Perſian *p* into *ph*, as فارس for پارس Perſia; فيل for پيل An elephant, &c. *Pialé* ſignifies a phial, a cup, and alſo a large veſſel; and hence may imply any ſubterraneous baſon into which a river might diſcharge itſelf.—*Ai*, and *aia* (p. 90.) may perhaps be the Arabic اي *aya* اوي *awa*, which denotes a *manſion, dwelling, place of reſt, ſettlement or reſidence*; and, in that ſenſe, may apply to the combination of *Aigupt*, the dwelling of the Copts or Egyptians. With regard to *Athenai*, *Thebai*, &c. I ſhould hardly ſuppoſe, that theſe had any connection with the Eaſt; being mere Greek in-

flexions. In which light I ſhould likewiſe view *Rom-a*; *Etn-a* (which he interprets the *country of Rom*, *of Etn*, &c); as I think it rather refining too much upon derivation to ſearch for occult Aſiatic meanings for mere Grecian and Roman terminations; which are ſo perfectly conſonant to the texture of the Greek and Latin tongues. As to *India*, which upon this etymology he would tranſlate The *Country of Ind*, it certainly was never known in that quarter of the world; the original word being هند *hind* An Indian, or the Indian nation; هندي *hindi*, or هندو *hindou* Indian, belonging to India, &c. هندوستان or هندستان The country of the Indians.—*Macar*, which (p. 67.) he ſays is a ſacred Amonian title, and gives names in conſequence to many places, appears to be ſimply the Arabic مقر *Macarr*, which denotes a *place* of *reſidence*, a *habitation*, &c. *Macarron* is the ſame word, either in the plural, or pronounced with the *nunnation*. (In reading the Alcoran and other books in the ſolemn ſtyle, *on* is often the termination of the nominative caſe, *in* of the genitive or dative, and *an* of the accuſative; which, in common reading or converſation, is generally dropt: this is what Arabic grammarians call *nunnation*, See Arab. Gramm. p. 33, &c.) The ancient Gedroſia is now named Mocran. —*Melech*, (p. 70.) is Hebrew and Arabic for a *king*, and alſo an *angel*; as מלך and ملك *melek* or مالك *malek*; and ملكة *meleka* or *meleket* A *queen*.—*Anak* (p. 72.) ſeems to be analogous to the Arabic عنق or اعنق *anak* or *unk*, which denote *Princes*, *chiefs*, *tall men*, &c.—*Sar* or *zar* (p. 73.) سر *ſer* or *ſar*, in Perſian, ſignifies The *head*, *ſummit*, *chief*, *principal*, &c. and is one of the moſt com-

mon compounds in the language; as, سردار *ſardar* A *general*, or *chief*; سرخیل *ſerkheil* The *commander of a troop*; سراخور *ſerakhur* The *maſter of the horſe*, &c. Placed after nouns, سار *ſar* denotes *Magnitude*, *multitude*, and *ſimilitude*; as کوهسار *kuhſar* A *large mountain or mountainous country*; برکسار *berkſar* *Full of leaves*; شاه سار *ſhahſar* *Royal*, *like a king*. سارا *ſara* means *pure*, *excellent*, &c. سرا *ſera* is A *palace*; زار *zar* is an adjunct expreſſive of *place*, eſpecially where there is a great quantity of any thing, as لاله زار *laleh zar* A *bed of tulips*; گلزار *gulzar* A *roſe-garden*. زر *zer* ſignifies *gold*; زرسان *zerſan* Golden. A variety of other meanings may be given of thoſe words; which, in their natural, unforced ſenſes, will denote *Dignity*, *quality*, or *ſituation*, without having recourſe to the figurative ſignification of a *rock*, which is doubtful and unconvincing. It may alſo be obſerved in general, that all Perſian nouns, (with very few exceptions) when applied to any thing having life, form their plurals in *an*; ſo that combinations of titles, ſuch as *ſar-an*, *ſar-on*, &c. are eaſily deducible from the ſame roots, without any compound, or adjunct.—*Air* (p. 92.) ایر *air*, in Arabic, denotes the *North* and the *Eaſt*; alſo a *ſcorching wind*; it ſignifies likewiſe a *hard ſtone*, *cotton*, &c. From another root, عبر *air* means a *caravan*, a *chief*, a *prince*, &c. ارا *Ara* implies *honey*, *ſweet dew*, *manna*, (and, as well as *ar*, *ir*, *or*) *fire*, *heat*, &c. *Ara* in Perſian expreſſes *Adorning*, *beautifying*, *ornament*, &c. all which ſenſes may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have entered into the compoſition of many names of places; as the accident of ſituation, elegance of buildings, the produce of the ſoil, or a reſpect for their chiefs, might ſuggeſt.

The ſame idea may be likewiſe adopted with regard to قير *kir*, قار *kar*, قور *kur*, &c. which in Arabic ſignify *Bitumen*, *pitch*, *camels*, &c. *Kar*, *kur*, *Karat*, *kirat*, &c. A *hill*, a *large ſtone*, a *tract of ſtony country*, *cotton*, &c. كار *Kar* in Perſian denotes *Art*, *commerce*, &c. whence we may eaſily ſuppoſe, *The country of bitumen*, *cotton*, or *camels*, *The caſtle on the hill*, *The city of commerce*, *The rocky region*, &c. &c.—*Col*, *cal*, *calah*, &c. (p. 93.) may be different modes of pronouncing the Arabic قلع قلعة *kala* or *kalat* (plur. قلاع *kyla*) which imply *Caſtles*, *towers*, &c. eſpecially on the tops of mountains or high grounds.—قلة (plur. قلل) Arab. is A *hill*.—جب *Gib* (p. 94.) in Arabic denotes a mountainous country, which is alſo expreſſed by جبل *Gibl*; whence comes *Gibraltar*.—تار *Tar*, in Perſian, is the ſummit or ridge of a mountain, &c. and طور *Tur*, in Arabic, is generally uſed to expreſs *Mount Sinai*.—*Caph*, &c. (p. 95.) which is interpreted *A rock*, *promontory*, &c. has every appearance of being that fabulous mountain قاف *Kaf*, (ſee Dictionary) which the Arabians, Perſians, and other eaſtern nations have ſuppoſed, beyond all tradition and long after Mohammed, to ſurround the world. It became therefore the ſubject of much fable, and of perpetual alluſion; every hill or promontory, which their writers meant to diſtinguiſh, (like Alps or Alpine with us) being called *Kaf* or *Kaph*. *Caph-el*, *Caph-ar*, and *Caph-arez*, may therefore be interpreted The *Mount of God*, the *Vulcano* or *mountain of fire*; the *Hill of the world*, &c. ارض *arez*, amongſt many ſignifications, denoting *the world*; without having ſeemingly any reference to the *Sun*; which, in a variety of places, Mr. Bryant lays down as an undiſ-

puted fact, but without ſupporting it by the leaſt ſatisfactory authority. — *Beth* is the Hebrew בית, the Arabic being بيت *beit*: they both ſignify a *houſe, temple*, &c. آباد *Abad* is Perſian, and implies a *place of reſidence*. گاو or گو *Gau* or *kaw* (p. 98.) in Perſian, means a *hollow, low ground, or any excavation*; whence it might be applied to a *houſe in a bottom, a cavern*, or any thing ſimilar; it alſo denotes *magnificent, venerable, great, ſtrong, warlike, powerful*. *Gau* ſignifies likewiſe The *Sun*, with a variety of other meanings, ſee Dictionary.—*Thaman*, which (Vol. III. p. 10.) he ſays, ſignified *eight*, in the ancient language of the country round Mount *Ararat*, where the ark is ſuppoſed to have reſted, is merely the Arabic ثمان *thaman*; and *ceman* or *ſeman* ſeems to be only that variation of ſound, given by the Perſians and other nations to the initial Arabic ث *th*, which they cannot pronounce: this renders it quite unneceſſary, therefore, to alter *Cemainum* or *Shemainum*, as he propoſes in the following page.—There appears in many countries an antipathy to *t'h* or *th*. As I have obſerved before (p. 13.) moſt nations in Europe avoid the ſound. Even the Engliſh, with whom it may be called a kind of *Shiboleth*, have in later times almoſt univerſally received *has, loves*, and other third perſons, in place of *hath* and *loveth*: whilſt many ſpeakers pronounce *authority*, and ſimilar words, *autority*, &c.—There ſeems to be a miſtaken conjecture (p. 12.) relative to the city of *Tabriz* or *Tauris* (the capital of the country called *Adherbijan* or *Azerbijan*, part of the *Armenia* and *Media* of the Greeks), which, he ſays, is named likewiſe *Albors* or *Albaris*. This he imagines to be a contraction of *Tabaris* or *Tavaris*; but the firſt is apparently Arabic, the other Perſian: تبريز

and برص *birs* in Arabic have a great variety of meanings; the laſt, *inter alia*, ſignifying *leprous*; and, with the Arabic article prefixed, البرص implies *The moon*, from the ſpotted appearance of her diſk. تبريز or تاوريز *Tabriz* is the name by which this place is generally known; and is conjectured to have been given on account of that healthineſs of ſituation, for which it has been much remarked; the firſt word implying *diſperſing a fever*, or *reſiſting an infection*: tho' it is not impoſſible, as this country was anciently famous for the adoration of fire, that the name ſhould have an alluſion to that circumſtance; for تابريز may be interpreted *Scattering heat, diffuſing ſplendor*, &c. البرس كوه *albors kuh* (The mountain *Albors*) is celebrated by Firdouſi: and it is mentioned, by Ali Yezdi, l. 3. c. 57. of his life of Tamerlane; but that is apparently further to the northward, and not the place here referred to.

The difficulty, if unacquainted with the languages, of diſcovering the analogy of Eaſtern words by the eye or the ear, will evidently appear from a few examples. ارز (*Arz, arez*, &c.) in Arabic, ſignifies *A pine*, or any *cone-bearing tree*; *a chief*; *robuſt*; *ſold*; &c: (in Perſian) *Price, value, quantity eſteem, honour*. ارض (*arz, arez*, or *ardh* Arab.) ſignifies the *Earth*; عرض (*arz*, &c.) *A preſent*; *an accident*; *deſire*; *plunder*; *an army*; *merchandize*, &c. —عرس (*aris*) *Aſtoniſhed*; *a ſpouſe*; *wedlock*.— عرص (*aris*) *Cheerful*. — ارش (*ariſh*) *A quarrel, a mulct for manſlaughter*. عرش (*ariſh*) *A throne*.—بتل (*betel*) *Cutting, ſeparating*.—بطل (*betel*) *A champion*; *hereſt*; with numbers

of others which might be eaſily adduced.—Whilſt مصطفي (*Muſtafa*) *Excellent, ſelected,* is derived from the root صفي (*ſefi*) of the ſame ſignification.)—محمد (*Mohammed*) *Deſerving great praiſe*; احمد (*Ahmed*) *More praiſe-worthy.* ممدح (*Mumeddeh*) or ممدوح (*Memduh*) *Praiſed, celebrated*; and ممدوحات (*Memduhat*) *Celebrated things*, are all brought from حمد *hemd Praiſe.*—انصار (*anſar*) *Defenders* (i. e. The citizens of Medina, who ſupported Mahomet). المنصور (*Almanſor*) *Aſſiſted, defended, celebrated for victories, auguſt.* مستنصر (*Moſtanſer*) *Imploring or receiving aſſiſtance* (names of two Khalifs) come from the radical نصر (*neſr*) *Victory, defence, aſſiſtance.*

Since writing the above, I have ſeen a Review of Mr. Bryant's Mythology, printed at Amſterdam: in which the authors appear to have expreſſed themſelves with an indecent petulance, which, for the honour of learning, it were to be wiſhed might never accompany a difference of opinion. If they turn to his Preface, to the firſt volume of the Mythology, p. xiv. they will read "The miſtakes of the Greeks in reſpect to ancient "terms, which they ſtrangely perverted, will be exhibi-"ted in many inſtances: and much true hiſtory will be "aſcertained from a detection of this peculiar miſapplica-"tion." Many other paſſages clearly explain his plan: and one of his chief objects is thence to develope ancient mythology from the obſcurity in which the Greeks had involved it, by corrupting the channels of derivation. He endeavours to penetrate therefore to the fountain head of language, of which he conſiders the Greek to be only a remote ſtream. His ideas, on this ground, are judicious;

and he wanted only a knowledge of Eaſtern learning, to have made many curious and intereſting diſcoveries. With what propriety then can thoſe gentlemen triumph, and queſtion Mr. Bryant's knowledge of the Greek, when he profeſſedly goes to a higher origin for his Etymologies? Where is the juſtice of the following among many ſimilar criticiſms, "Αφιτυς Apollo falſo fit ex *Apha*, ignis, "et *tor* turris; cum fecundum certiſſimas linguæ rationes ab αφιημι oriatur? Where is the decency of "Cum "ubique in Bryantio temeritatis novitatem miraremur, "excogitare tamen non potuimus quis eum ſtupor tenue-"rit, cum hæc ſcriberet?" (p. 68.)

P. 138. [b] See I. Diſſertation, prefixed to Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, by the Rev. Mr. Warton. — See alſo The Hiſtory of the Decline of the Roman Empire, by Edw. Gibbon, Eſq. p. 246. — Abbé Raynal, Hiſtoire Philoſophique et Politique, Tom. II. p. 142. — Gov. Pownal Archeologia of Society of Antiquaries, Vol. II. p. 264. —Wiſe on the firſt Inhabitants, Language, &c. of Europe, p. 84.

P. 141. [c] Olaus Wormius Liter. Runic, cap. 20. Bartholin Antiq. Daniæ, lib. ii. cap. 8. lib. iii. cap. 2. Lazius de Gent. migrat. l. x. fol. 573. and 1600. — Olaus Rudbeck, cap. v. ſect. 2. Arngrim. Crymogæa, Jon. lib. i. cap. 4. Mallet Introduction à l'Hiſtoire de Dannemarc, tom. ii. p. 9, &c. The Venerable Bede. And Johann. Ihre, Gloſſarium Suiogothicum, voce Oden, &c.

See Pref. to Alfred's Saxon Oroſius.

P. 143. [d] Mallet. Hiſt. Dannem. c. ii. — Preface to Alfred's Saxon Oroſius, by Spelman. Vit. Alfredi Spelm. Append. vi.

P. 147. [e f] Among the *Tartar*, or more properly *Tatar*

nations, who, with ſome ſimilar features, have, at the ſame time, in many points, a diverſity of character, are the *Moguls*, *Calmaks* or *Aluths*, the *Atracks* or *Turks*, the *Turkmans*, the *Uſbecs*, the *Cunghelis* or *Kanklis*, *Cazalaks*, *Tangages*, *Kipchaks*, *Crimis*, *Sartes*, the inhabitants of *Bokhara*, *Khata* or *Khotan*, *Toncat* or *Tangut*, and *Thibet*, the *Telangits*, *Tumats*, *Virats*, *Cataguns*, *&c.*

P. 148. [s] Les Arabes et les Tartares ſont des peuples paſteurs. Les Arabes ſe trouvent dans les cas generaux dont nous avons parlé, et ſont libres; au lieu que les Tartares (peuple le plus ſingulier de la terre) ſe trouvent dans l'eſclavage politique. — Ils n'ont point de villes, ils n'ont point de forêts, ils ont peu de marais, leurs rivieres ſont preſque toujours glacées, ils habitent une immenſe plaine, &c. L'Eſprit des loix, Liv. xviii. ch. 19.

P. 150. [s] See Sir W. Blackſtone's Commentaries, Book ii. ch. iv. L'Eſprit des Loix, lib. xxx. ch. i. Dr. Robertſon's Charles V. vol. i. p. 15. 255. et ſeq. Millar on the Diſtinction of Ranks in Society, ch. iv. Voltaire Eſſai ſur l'Hiſtoire Generale, ch. xxiii. Sir John Dalrymple's Feudal Syſtem. Spelman on Feuds. Wright on Tenures. Gravina Orig. lib. i. §. 139. Crag. Du Cange, voce Feudum, &c.

P. 152. [bs] A *fief* in Perſian is called بلوك *Beluk*, being deſcribed as a tract of country which a ſubject obtains by gift from the prince, by purchaſe, or by ſucceſſion; and holds for military ſervice. سيورغال *Siyurghal*, ſignifies alſo a *feudal tenure*. A *feudatory chief* or *military tenant* is called سپاهي — In Arabic اخذة *akbezet* and قطيعة *ketiat* are generally underſtood as *fiefs*: the firſt implying The receiving of lands from a chief; and the other expreſſing

The cutting off a certain district from a greater, and giving it to a subject on certain conditions. As these words may however refer also to *copyholds* or *farms*, nothing conclusive can be drawn from them alone. زعامة *Ziyamet* in Arabic denotes also A *fief* bestowed for *military services*; and زعيم *zaym* from the same root A *feudal chief*, or *military tenant*. نفير عام *nefiri amm* implies A general summons of nobles to take the field with their military vassals.—لقاح *lekah* A masculine or noble tribe; one that was never conquered, nor acknowledged a feudal dependence on kings. — زمين بوس *zemin bous* (Kissing the earth) was a kind of homage which the old kings of Persia imposed upon their feudatory princes. They called it likewise روي زمين *rui zemin* (Face on the ground). They had also the ceremony of پابوس *pabous* (kissing the feet); which word the Spaniards have adopted, when they write to men of the first quality. The Khalifs, along with the القاب *alcab* or titles, used generally to send to their feudatory princes a Banner, which, whilst they preserved their allegiance, was always carried before them. It was thus that the Khalif Wathek invested Thaher ben Abdallah, about the year 873, in the principality of Khoraſſan. Amongst other marks of homage among the Mohammedan princes, the name of the paramount sovereign was always mentioned first in public prayers: vassals had not the سراپرده *seraperdé* or fourth curtain at the door of the hall of audience; and the trumpet was not sounded when they went out, or returned to the palace. See Dictionary under the words mentioned above: also D'Herbelot 508. 756. 927. 1018.

P. 156. [d] See Dictionary گاو *Gao*, فریدون *Feridun*, رستم *Roſtam*, افراسیاب *Afraſiab*, اسفندیار *Aſfendiar*, سکندر *Sikender*. See alſo *Khondemir*, *Tarikh montekheb*, *Shah namé*, &c.

P. 158. [e] See Pocock Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 65, 66. 74. Novairi's Hiſt. of the Hemyaret Kings, &c.

تاریخ المسلمین *Tarikhu'l Meſlemin*, or the Hiſtory of the Saracens, p. 135. D'Herbelot, p. 1017.

P. 160. [f] See Khondemir, Sherfeddin Ali Yezdi's Life of Tamerlane; Abul Pharaje Dyn. 10. D'Herbelot paſſim, &c.

P. 162. [g] The number nine has been long in great veneration among the Tartars. All preſents made to their princes conſiſt, in general, of nine of each article. At all their feaſts this number and its combinations are always attended to in their diſhes of meat, and in their ſkins of wine or other liquors. At one entertainment, mentioned by the Tartar king Abulgazi Khan, there were 9000 ſheep, 900 horſes and 99 veſſels of brandy, &c. Even the roving Tartars rob the caravans by this rule; and will rather take nine of any thing than a greater number. Abulgazi Khan, in the preface to his hiſtory, ſays, "I have divided it into nine parts, to conform myſelf to "the cuſtom of other writers, who all have this number "in particular eſteem." It appears to have been likewiſe a favourite myſterious number amongſt the Goths. We are told, that every nine years there was a ſolemn feſtival, when nine animals of every ſpecies were ſacrificed to their gods. Oden, they ſay, reſolving to die as a warrior before the approach of age and infirmity, called a general aſſembly of the Goths, and wounded himſelf in nine

mortal places. See Adam of Bremen in Grotii Prolegomenis, p. 104. Mallet, Introduction à l'Hiſtoire de Dannemarc. —— The reſemblance of the Tartar and European diets ſeems to have ſtruck Voltaire. " Il parait " que les Kans Tartares etaient en uſage d'aſſembler des " Diétes vers le Printems: ces Diétes s'apelaient *Couriltè*. " Eh! qui ſait ſi ces aſſemblées et nos Cours Plenieres, " au mois de Mars et de Mai, n'ont pas une origine com- " mune? *Eſſai ſur l'Hiſtoire Generale*, ch. xlviii." —Abul Pharaje, p. 466. calls this Great Council قوريلتاي *Kuriltai* or قعريلتاي *Kariltai*. Ali Yezdi, in his life of Tamerlane, writes it قوروڵتاي *kurultai*. See a magnificent deſcription of one, chap. 3. In the Khoraſmian dialect it is قورلتان *kuriltan*.

P. 163. [h] Blackſtone's Commentaries, Vol. II. p. 83.

P. 166. [a] Sadi, a Perſian moral writer of the firſt claſs, in the preface to his Boſtan, making an eulogium on Providence, ſays, with much ſerioufneſs, That Omnipotence had provided ſo liberally for the nouriſhment of all his creatures, that even the Simurgh finds on the mountain of Kaf ſufficient for her ſuſtenance, notwithſtanding her immeaſurable ſize. See Dict. سيمرغ *Simurgh*, عنقا *Anka*, and قاف *Kaf*.

P. 169. [b] In many parts of the Eaſt, they ſtrongly perfume the bodies of the dead, that the demons may not approach them. — See Dict. پري *Peri*; ديو *Dive*; سليمان *Soliman*; شادوكام *Shadukam*; باديات الجن *badyatu'l'jinn*; جان بن جان *Jan ben Jan*. *Angelo* ſays, that the *Sabians* make the creation 370,340 years before the Chriſtian era, See Gazophylacium Ling. Perſ. p. 361. — حارس *Hares*

ſignifies, a Guardian, governor, or protector; but on his fall his name was changed to ابا *Iba* The refractory; ابليس *Eblis* The deſperate; and شيطان *Sheitan* The proud.—Many of the ideas relative to *Kaf* are even adopted in the Alcoran: they were the general belief in the days of Mohammed; and it was not till geography became better underſtood, in the Eaſt, that they diſcovered the ſeveral diviſions of *Kaf* to be *Caucaſus*, *Imaus*, *Atlas*, and other mountains in Aſia and Africa.—The *Peris* are by ſome writers ſuppoſed to be all females, and the *Dives* males; but without having any communication; each having the ſeparate power of continuing their ſpecies: yet, in the *Tahmuras namé*, we find the brothers of the *Peri Merjan*; and the *Caherman namé* mentions often the kings of *Shadukam*.

P. 172. [c] The moſt famous taliſmans, which rendered them proof againſt the arms and magic of the Dives, were the مهر سليماني *mohur Solimani*, or The Seal of *Soliman Jared*, the fifth monarch of the world; which gave to its poſſeſſor the command of elements, demons, and of every created thing. The سپر *Siper*, or Buckler of *Jan ben Jan*, more famous in the Eaſt than the Shield of *Achilles* among the *Greeks*. The جبه *jebeh* or the Impenetrable Cuiraſs; and the تيغ اتش *tigh atish*, or the Flaming ſword. Among the dreadful creatures of the imagination, which winged the heroes of *Perſia* from region to region, were the *Rakſhé*, whoſe ordinary food was ſerpents and dragons. He had long rendered the Dry Iſland inacceſſible, till ſubdued by Houſheng, king of Perſia, or by his father Siamek Shah, who tamed, and mounted him in all their wars with the Dives. The *Saban* had the head of a horſe with four

eyes, and the body of a flame-coloured dragon: he was conquered by a famous Perſian warrior called *Sam Neriman*. The *Ouranabad* is deſcribed as a fierce-flying hydra. The *Ejder*, *ezſhder* or *ezſhdeha*, are dragons of different kinds. The *Syl* appears to be the Baſiliſk, having a face ſomewhat human, the ſight of which makes every creature to fly; the near approach being certain death. See Dictionary صحام *ſobam*, ورانابا *ouranabad*, رکشه *rakſhé*, اجدر *ejder*, اژدر *ezſhder*, اژدها *ezſhdeha*, صل *ſyl*.

The preſent made by the Simurgh of her feathers to Tahmuras, according to Eaſtern writers, gave riſe to the faſhion of plumed helmets.—This prince was ſurnamed *Beniavend*, Armed at all points; and *Divebend*, Chainer of Dives. *Merjan* ſignifies A pearl.

See *Shah namé* خوان ششم و کشتن رستم ارژنك دیو *Khan ſheſhum, wa kuſhten Roſtam Arzſhenk Dive*, The ſixth adventure, and the ſlaughter of the *Dive Arzſhenk* by *Roſtam*. In the next is his combat with the دیو سپید *Dive ſepid* (white Dive). *Firdouſi*, who may be called the *Homer* of *Perſia*, employed thirty years in the compoſition of this work. He died at an advanced age, in the year 1018. See alſo Gazophylacium Ling. Perſ. p. 127.

P. 175. * See Diſſertations prefixed to the Rev. Mr. Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry; and Obſervations on the Faery Queen, p. 63.—In the Perſian Romances, we find nations with the heads of fiſhes, dragons, &c. as سرماهي *ſer mahi*, سرازدها *ſer ezſhdeha*. We have alſo the نیم سر *nim ſer* The half heads, and دوال پاي *duwal pai* The leather ſtrap legs. But one of the moſt ſingular creatures is the نیم جزء *nim juzé* or نیم چهر *nim chehr*;

which is ſuppoſed to be a human figure ſplit in two; the male being the right half, and the female the left; they have, of conſequence, half a face, one eye, one arm, and one foot, on which they run with incredible ſwiftneſs; and are imagined to be very dangerous and cruel.—تنين *tennin*, ثعبان *ſaban*, and other Arabic words uſed to denote Dragons, are only, radically, Large Serpents. عنقا *Anka* ſignifies An eagle, length of neck, &c. from the root عنق *ank*, A neck. عفريت *Afrit* A cruel or dangerous man, from the root عفر *yfr*; hence A giant, genie, demon, &c. —غول *Ghul* Any thing terrifying, which ſuddenly deprives people of their ſenſes. جن *Jenn* A demon, a ſpirit. This root ſignifies, *inter alia*, Covering, concealed, interior, dark. عزيف *Aziſ* A nocturnal ſound heard in the deſert, which they believed to be the howling of demons. — قطرب *Kutrub* A wolf; alſo a deep melancholly, which makes people fancy themſelves wolves, and run howling to the woods. It is alſo uſed to ſignify the male *Ghul*.—صيدانة *Seidanet* A bad woman, a ſcold: alſo the Lamia of the Deſert; an imaginary monſter with a woman's head. بلوكة *Beluket* A deſert: alſo a place in Arabia, which they believe to be the mouth of hell; and to be inhabited by demons.—See alſo Dict. جان *jan*, and جنون *jenun*.

P. 176. [f] [g] See Dictionary ماء *mah*.

P. 177. [h] Father Angelo obſerves, that Magic is an art publicly taught by the Perſians and Arabians. He knew a rich enchanter of Baſſora, a man much reſpected; whoſe ſcholars were ſo numerous, that they poſſeſſed one entire quarter of the city. At the ſound of a certain

drum, accompanied by a kind of chaunt, they became, like demoniacs, ſuddenly inſpired with a real or affected phrenzy; during which they devoured fire publicly in the ſtreets. This is a trick not uncommon with European jugglers. Theſe magicians, by way of diſtinction, wore their hair very long. See *Gazophylacium Linguæ Perſarum*, p. 155. Angelo went miſſionary to the Eaſt in 1663. See alſo Hyde's Religio Veterum Perſarum, cap. 18 et 19.

P. 180. [1] The words expreſſive of Taliſmans, Amulets, Faſcination, and Spells, are very numerous both in *Perſian* and *Arabic*. I ſhall mention a few. نشرة *nuſhret* An amulet for preventing or curing inſanity, or other malady. قبلة *keblé* A philtre by which necromancers pretend to reconcile enemies. غزغاو *ghezſhghaw* or غجغاو *ghejghaw* Tufts made of the hair of ſea-cows, and hung round the necks of horſes, to defend them from faſcination. شبارق *ſhebarik* A tree of which they make amulets for the ſame purpoſe. عزيمة *azimet* An amulet, incantation, or ſpell againſt ſerpents, diſeaſe, or other evil. سلوانة *ſulwanet* Shells, rings, or beads uſed as amulets. سلوان *ſulwan* denotes, Water poured from a kind of ſhell, or upon earth taken from the grave of a dead man, which they drink to the health of a perſon; as a cure for love, or any ſevere affliction. عطفة *atfet* or عنطفة *antefet* Small beads hung by women round their necks, as a charm to gain the affections of their lovers. عقرة *akret* A ſpherical amulet, worne by ſome women round their waiſts, to prevent pregnancy; and by others to favour a conception. اخذة *akhzet* An amulet in form of a knot, which women wear to keep their huſbands faithful. نيرنك *nirenk*, نيرك

nirek, حمايل *hemail*, تعويذ *tawiz*, معقاد *mikad*, متمم *mutemmim*, غز *gezz*, خرز *kherez*, كحال *kehal*, وجيهة *wejihet*, رغب *rab*, قرزحلة *kyrzehlet*, معوذ *mawiz*, بريم *berim*, ſignify amulets, made of ſhells, beads, tufts of wool or hair, dead mens bones, &c. نجو *neju*, فرهست *ferheſt*, رقي *reki*, شوه *ſhub*, لعطة *latet*, نظرة *nezret*, &c. imply Faſcination or malignant eyes. خرجاره *khercharé* is An aſs's head placed upon a pole in a garden, &c. to guard it againſt faſcination. بازور *bazur* and بازوبند *bazubend* ſignify *amulets* or any kind of ligatures uſed in inchantment; either from Bazur the name of a famous magician, or becauſe they are in general faſtened round the arm, which the other word implies. چشم بنام *cheſhm benam* An amulet for averting the faſcination of malignant eyes.

The following account of the diſcovery of hidden treaſure is given by the Vizir Nezam.—A prince, named Emir Iſmael, in the beginning of the tenth century, having defeated another chief, called Amrou Leis, who was ſuppoſed to be very rich, ſearch was made for his treaſure; but in vain. One of Iſmael's female ſlaves accidentally undreſſing to bathe on the terraſs of the palace, having laid down her girdle, ſet with large rubies, on a white cloth; a hungry kite obſerving it, and ſuppoſing the red ſtones to be bits of meat, pounced upon the girdle and carried it off. The damſel inſtantly gave the alarm to the guard; and a number of horſemen were diſpatched to keep the kite in view; who dropt it after a long purſuit, when it fell into a well. A man was immediately let down, who diſcovered in the ſide of it a large cavity, where a vaſt number of cheſts had been lodged, which proved to

be the very treaſure the Emir had been ſo long in queſt of, to the amount of about 4,000,000 l. ſterling.—Burying treaſure is alſo common among the Tartars: and ſheets of gold, jewels, and rich moveables, are often interred along with the chiefs and their wives. See Abulgazi Khan's hiſtory; alſo Archeologia of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol. II. p. 222.

P. 183. [a] The Perſians in general calculate the era of Yezdijird from the 16th of June A. D. 632. And the Arabians from the year 651.

P. 186. [c] The ancient Perſians durſt not, by their religion, extinguiſh fire with water, but endeavoured to ſmother it with earth, ſtones, or any thing ſimilar. This method would not ſoon extinguiſh a blazing foreſt.—The Parſis of Guzerat are ſtill guided by the ſame hurtful ſuperſtition. See Anquetil's Zend Aveſta, Vol. II. p. 567.

P. 187. [d] كوسه نشين *Kouſa niſhin* ſignifies, The beardleſs old man ſitting or mounted. During the time of the Mohammedan Sultans of Perſia, this ceremony was called, in Arabic, ركوب الكوسج *rokubu'l'kouſej* The proceſſion of *Kouſej*, which is ſynonymous. — D'Herbelot obſerves, that a burleſque farce, ſomewhat reſembling this, was anciently cuſtomary in Italy about the middle of Lent. —September in Perſia is named *Mihr*, the angel ſuppoſed to ſuperintend the orb of the Sun; and the 16th day of every month is alſo called *Mihr*: in conſequence of which, they imagined, that the horn of an ox (a creature ſacred to the Sun) killed on that day, muſt be impregnated with extraordinary anti-demoniacal virtues.—M. Anquetil ſays, that the Parſis always carry about them papers ſo prepared, as a defence againſt the Dives, and a preſervative from

every diſtemper of body and mind. Zend Aveſta, Vol. II. p. 113.

P. 190. [g] نوشتہ گزدم *nuſhtei guzſhdum* or رقعہء گزدم *rukai guzſhdum* Scorpion ſpells. See alſo Dict. ماہ *mah*.

مرد گیران *merd giran* Taking or commanding men. The author of the *Farhang Jehangiri* makes this feſtival to have continued during the five laſt days of this month: but others confine it to the fifth. At different periods, and in different provinces, both cuſtoms might have been reſpectively adopted. See alſo Hyde's Religio Veterum Perſarum, cap. 19 and 20.

P. 191. [h] طرق *teryk* Throwing pebble-ſtones or gravel, to prognoſticate future events. عیاف *iyaf* Divination from the flight of birds. قاري *kari* is the name of a bird with a long beak, which the Arabians conſider as a bird of good omen, which they are always happy to meet. کادس *kades* Any thing taken as an omen, generally in a bad ſenſe; as a deer deſcending a mountain, or appearing at the beholder's back. شعبد باز *ſhabid baz* An enchanter; one eſpecially who makes incantations by the help of aſhes, vitriol, or any kind of lixivium. ولهان *welhan* A demon, which they pretend to lay, by ſprinkling water, and pronouncing exorciſms. هلوان *hulwan* is an enchanter's fee. See Dictionary مسلعة *muſelaat* and باد انگیز *bad engiz*. See D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 87. alſo under عمرو *Amru* and عمر *Omr* or *Omar*.

P. 193. [i] It is not a hundred years ſince the conjuration of witches, demons and fairies, was commonly practiſed and taught in London by Lilly and others. Even the Hon.

Mr. Boyle, (ſee his works, V. 6. p. 59.) and other men of great learning and ſound judgment, in other reſpects, were ſtrongly impreſſed with a belief in thoſe ſupernatural beings, and of the power of ſpells in commanding their ſervice. In the Aſhmolean Muſeum at Oxford are various formularies of invocation and incantations, collected by the very learned and ſenſible founder; who was ſtrongly tinctured with thoſe prejudices. See Aſhmole's Collect. of MSS. N° 8259. 1406. 2. See alſo the Lives of John Lilly and Elias Aſhmole, Eſq. likewiſe Dr. Percy's Relicts of Ancient Engliſh Poetry, Vol. III. p. 213, 214.—Conjurers, witches, and ſorcerers, are accurately deſcribed in our law books. Hawkins (in his Pleas of the Crown) ſays, "*Conjurers* are thoſe who, by force of certain ma-"gic words, endeavour to raiſe the devil, and oblige him "to execute their commands. *Witches* are ſuch who, "by way of conference, bargain with an evil ſpirit to do "what they deſire of him; and *Sorcerers* are thoſe who, "by the uſe of certain ſuperſtitious words, or by the "means of images, &c. are ſaid to produce ſtrange ef-"fects, above the ordinary courſe of nature." All which were anciently puniſhed as heretics by ſentence of the Eccleſiaſtical courts, and burnt by the writ *De hæretico comburendo.* See Lib. 1. p. 5. By the Common Law, they could only be pilloried. 3 Inſt. 44. H. P. C. 38. But by Stat. 1. James I. c. 12. theſe offenders are divided into two degrees: thoſe of the firſt degree, with their acceſſories before the fact, ſuffering as felons without benefit of clergy. Theſe are of four kinds; "1. Such as ſhall uſe any in-"vocation or conjuration of any evil ſpirit. 2. That con-"ſult, covenant with, entertain, employ, or reward any "evil ſpirit, to any intent. 3. As take up any dead per-

" ſon's body, or any part thereof, to be uſed in any man-
" ner of witchcraft. 4. Or that exerciſe any witchcraft,
" inchantment, charm or ſorcery, whereby any perſon
" ſhall be killed, deſtroyed, conſumed, or lamed in his
" body or any part thereof." And tho' a ſpirit doth not actually appear upon invocation, &c. or tho' a dead perſon, or part of it, be taken up to be uſed, and not actually uſed; they are ſtill within the ſtatute.—This law, which would diſgrace the moſt ſtupid of nations in the moſt barbarous ſtate of ignorance, was not repealed till the 9th Geo. II. If we keep ſuch circumſtances in view, and pay a proper attention to Chronology, when we read, we ſhall not, with any regard to juſtice, look down with contempt upon the manners and beliefs of diſtant times and diſtant countries.

P. 197. * Some combats with the Dives have been ſlightly mentioned (p. 170); previous to which, great preparations were made by the heroes to arm themſelves with ſpells, as a defence againſt their enchantments; accompanied with ceremonies differing little from thoſe afterwards practiſed by our European knights, when ſetting out to engage with necromancers or giants. See Dict. اهرمان— A duel in Arabic is called وقيعة الاثنين *wekyatu'l'eſnein* The combat of two. —See Dict. اسفنديار *Aſfendiar*. He was ſon to Kiſhtaſb, the fifth king of the Kaianian dynaſty, and father of Ardeſhir Dirazdeſt, the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks.—See *Shah namé* for a great variety of thoſe ſingle combats; alſo the *Houſheng namé*, *Iſkender namé*, *Tahmuras namé*, and other Eaſtern books of Poetry and Romance. — See Khondemir; The Leb Tarikh, in the Life of Kai Khoſrou; D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orient. p. 716; and Dict. دوازده رخ *Duazdeh rokh* The twelve

heroes. This is a combat preciſely ſimilar to that of the Horatii and Curiatii of Rome and Alba.

البطل *Albatal* ſignifies, The knight. He was alſo named سيد بطل *Seidi batal* The lord knight. He was killed in the year of the Hejra 121. (A. D. 738.) جعفر الصادق *Giaffar al Sadac*, Giaffar the Juſt, was born at Medina, in the year 83 of the Hejra (A. D. 699.) and died in the year 148 (A. D. 764.) M. D'Herbelot ſeems to think that thoſe two were the ſame perſon: but an attention to their dates, in which the Eaſtern writers are very particular, does not ſeem to juſtify the ſurmiſe. This learned Orientaliſt ſays, that in the French king's library there is an Arabian manuſcript, called *Seirat al mujahedin* (The lives of warriors); in which there is an abridgement of Albatal's life: alſo that there is another larger work filled with moſt wonderful feats of arms. Bibl. Orient. p. 193. 399.

P. 198. [b] See *Ben Shunah*, *Khondemir*, *D'Herbelot*, p. 371.

P. 199. [c] جريده *jeridé* is a branch of a palm tree ſtript of the leaves.—قنا *cana* are canes, the hollow parts of which are filled with ſome ſolid body. Of theſe they generally make the Arabian ſpears. دريّة *derit* is a ring, at which they dart a javelin, or endeavour to carry off on the point of a lance. — See alſo Hiſtoria de las Guerras Çiviles de Granada. — The *Jerid Oiné*, D'Herbelot ſays, was a common exerciſe among the Turkiſh cavaliers in the Atmeidan or Hippodrome at Conſtantinople. Bibl. Orient. p. 383. — The word *caitiff*, which in times of chivalry was often given by one knight as a term of reproach to another, has been ſuppoſed to be derived from the Italian *cattivo* or the Spaniſh *cautivo*, a captive, &c.

It is poſſible, however, that it may be only a ſlight alteration of the Arabian word خطاف *khattaf* A raviſher. As one of the great ends of the inſtitution of chivalry was to protect the ſex, a violation of this important point was juſtly marked with every circumſtance of infamy. It was chiefly applied to thoſe giants or governors of caſtles, who made a practice of carrying off and impriſoning the undefended fair: and ſeems, in conſequence, to be much more applicable to them than Captive; which carried along with it no ſuch diſgraceful idea.—I have ſometimes been alſo induced to think, that there is ſome affinity between the word *Knight* and نخط *Nikht*, which ſignifies thoſe who tilt with or throw ſpears, in order to ſhow ſtrength and dexterity.

P. 200. [d] See Eſſay on the Poetry of Eaſtern nations, by W. Jones, Eſq; ſubjoined to the Life of Nadir Shah, 8vo, p. 133. For various ſpecimens of their elegies and other compoſitions, See *Poeſeos Aſiaticæ Commentarii, auctore Guilielmo Jones*, 8vo. See alſo *Supplement à l'Hiſtoire de Nader Chah*, 4to. tom. II. p. 231. et ſeq. by the ſame learned and ingenious author.—See Dict. واله *waleh*, مدله *mudalleh*, مهوس *muhawwis*, هايم *haim*, شيدا *ſhida*, شفته *ſhufté*, شريده *ſheridé*, الفته *alufté*, عاشق *aſhik*, &c. ſignifying, Diſtracted, inſane, deſperate, furious, frantic, melancholy, mad with love. مجنون *Mejnoun* is the ſurname of one of the moſt celebrated Eaſtern lovers, and it implies Furious, frantic, mad, ſee ليلي و مجنون The loves of *Leila and Mejnoun*, by the celebrated Perſian poet *Jami*. اشوا *aſhwa* denotes Blind with the madneſs of love. علوق *aluk* ſignifies Love and Death. متيم *metim* The Captive

of Love; one who ſubmits to ſlavery or the meaneſt employment, to have an opportunity of ſerving or admiring his miſtreſs.

P. 203. [e] Ockley's Hiſt. of Saracens, p. 239. &c.

p. 204. [f] See ch. 24, 25, and other paſſages of Ali Yezdi's Hiſtory of Tamerlane, for many grand feſtivals given by that prince; eſpecially on the marriages of his grandchildren in 1404. The palace which he then built, on a plain called *Kanigul* (the mine of flowers), was a ſquare of 1500 cubits, chiefly of marble, encruſted on the outſide of the principal apartments with porcelaine; and in the inſide with ivory, ebony, gold, and precious ſtones. —A trifling obſervation which occurs in this place ſhows, that the contempt with which Europeans honour the Tartars and other Eaſtern people, is perfectly reciprocal.—"The European ambaſſadors were alſo invited to the "great banquet, and partook of the diverſions; for even "the Kaſſes (a very minute animal) have their place in "the ocean."

P. 208. [g] Mahmoud's queen, mentioned in the text, was the daughter of the Khan of Turkeſtan. جميلهٔ قندهاری *Jemila Khandahari* may be interpreted the *Beauty of Khandahar*. Mahmoud was the Great Sultan of Ghezna, who conquered Hindoſtan, and many other kingdoms in the Eaſt, at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. See p. 31. and Notes to p. 36. of this Diſſertation. See alſo Abulpharaje, p. 429.

Sultan Malekſhah, ſurnamed جلال الدولت و الدين *Jelal eddaulatu eddin* (The glory of the ſtate and of religion), of whom mention has been ſo often made in this Diſſertation, was the third Sultan of the Seljukian dynaſty; and great grandſon of *Seljuk*, a Turcoman or Tartar

nobleman, who was the founder of the family. The magnificent ſolemnity mentioned by the Vizir Nezam happened about the year 1076; though hiſtorians have hitherto fixed it ſome years earlier, on the coronation of Malek-ſhah; but the Vizir's own account is undoubtedly ſuperior authority. See D'Herbelot, p. 544, &c.

P. 210. [a] See *Las Guerras Civiles de Granada.* As it is ſeveral years ſince I ſaw this book, and now quote from memory, I cannot refer to the particular paſſages.—Beſides the inſtruments mentioned in the text, the Aſiatics have the *Kiran*, the *Mizher*, the *Kanun* or *Kenin*, the *Kemanché*, the *Kenaret*, the *Arteb*, the *Tunbur*, the *Zentur*, the *Kendelaſh*, and ſeveral others, which are different kinds of the lute, harp, dulcimer, pſalter, viola d'amore, and other inſtruments of the ſtringed ſpecies. The *Kunjbad* appears to be the Eolian or wind harp; the *Tulumbé* is a hydraulic inſtrument or water-organ; *Miſkal*, a ſpecies of organ, or Pan's reed-pipe, of unequal lengths. *Drums* are apparently an Arabian invention, and they have them of many ſorts. *Tebl* is a drum, *Teblek* a ſmall drum, tabor, or tambourin; alſo one made of two kettles, joined bottom to bottom, and covered with ſkins. *Ruyim khun*, *Sitam*, *Kubé*, are other kinds of kettle-drums. *Duff*, *Dubdub*, *Tembel*, *Dereb*, *Shendef*, *Shedef*, with many more, are drums, tabors, and other ſimilar inſtruments. *Kus* is a large royal military drum, generally beat in the palace, or in the camp when the king is preſent. They have likewiſe a vaſt number of wind inſtruments, eſpecially for war and the chace; as the *Gawdum*, a trumpet, with which they ſound the charge to battle; the *Buk* or *Buri*, a kind of Clarion, or Cor de chaſſe. The *Shebir*, the *Neſir*, the *Naker*, the *Kerna* or *Kerennay*, are trumpets of different

kinds: the laſt was that uſed by *Tamerlane*; the ſound of which is deſcribed as uncommonly dreadful; and ſo loud as to be heard at the diſtance of ſeveral miles. The *Nei*, the *Zarna*, the *Keiſabes*, the *Shaben*, the *Neidil*, the *Neiſhé*, the *Kawwal*, and the *Sanai*, are all of the hautboy, pipe, or flute ſpecies; though apparently not ſo melodious in general as thoſe of Europe.

P. 212. [b] The Arabians and Perſians, it may be here obſerved, have a gamut or muſical ſcale, which they call *Durri muſeſſel* (Separate pearls); whence the old mode of teaching vocal muſic in Europe, by what is vulgarly called *Sol-fa-ing*, ſeems to have been borrowed; their notes being named *A la mi ré*; *B fa pé mi*; *C ſol fa ut*, &c. See Dictionary در منضد See alſo Gazophylacium Linguæ Perſarum, p. 175. D'Herbelot, p. 337.

P. 215. [a] "O true believer, the law of retaliation is "allowed you for the ſlain: the free ſhall die for the free; "and the ſervant for the ſervant; and a woman for a wo- "man: but he whom his brother ſhall forgive, may be "proſecuted and obliged to make ſatisfaction, according "to what is juſt, and a fine ſhall be ſet on him with hu- "manity. This is indulgence from your Lord, and mer- "cy*. — And when the ſlayer ſhall be pardoned (in con- "ſequence of making ſatisfaction), he who hereafter ſhall "tranſgreſs (by killing the ſlayer) ſhall ſuffer a moſt grie- "vous puniſhment. And in this retaliation ye have life." —In another part he ſays, "Whoever ſhall take a ven- "geance equal to the injury which hath been done; and "ſhall be afterwards unjuſtly treated, verily God will aſ- "ſiſt him." See Alcoran, chap. ii. iv. and xxii. —M. D'Herbelot, after the paſſage marked above with the aſteriſm *, inſerts theſe words, "Mais celui qui pardonnera "au meurtrier obtiendra la miſericorde de Dieu, &c." but

I can diſcover nothing correſponding to it in this part of the Alcoran. See Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 294.

The Sonna is a collection of the ſayings of Mohammed, or the traditions of his widows and companions. By the Turks and other followers of the ſect of Omar, they are conſidered with a reſpect little inferior to the Alcoran; but they are rejected by the Perſians and the other adherents of Ali. See Dictionary سنه *ſonna* and دية *diyet*.

The *Fredum* was a late introduction into the ancient European Code; being unknown in the older capitularies; and ſeems to have been intended by the magiſtrate as an additional check to private revenge. It was a ſum paid by a criminal to the king, or to his feudal ſuperior, for protection againſt the relations of the deceaſed, after they had accepted a compoſition. It was in general equal to a third part of this compoſition; but varied often, in proportion to the difficulty of protecting the perſon who had committed the violence. See *Monteſquieu de l' Eſprit des Loix*, liv. 30. ch. xx. Robertſon's Cha. V. vol. i. p. 361.

قصاص *keſas*; قود *kawed*; اباءة *ibaat*; بوا *bawa*; پاداش *padaſh*; تاوان *tawan*; تار *tar*; مقتص *muktyſs*; ثار *ſar*—ſignify, The Law of Retaliation, or puniſhment by that law; killing one for the murder of another. اقصاص *ikſas* and امثال *imſal*, are nearly ſynonimous; but more ſtrictly denote, Eye for eye, limb for limb, &c. ظلف *zelif* Shedding much blood with impunity. بضرا مضرا *byzran myzran* Blood ſhed unrevenged. هدر *hedir* Permitting blood to be ſhed unrevenged: this word alſo implies, a worthleſs fellow. موتور *mawtur*, ياتاراة *yatarat* One who does not revenge the death of his friend (from cowardice or other baſe motive). متدي *muttedi* Receiving money, &c. as an expiation for murder. غوز *ghur* Expiating murder

by a mulct. ارش *'erſh*, اشناق *aſhnak* Fines for the ſhedding of blood.

The firſt month *Muharrem*, the ſeventh *Rejeb*, the eleventh *Dhulkaadé*, and the twelfth *Dhulhajjé*, were eſteemed ſacred in Arabia from the oldeſt times: and, excepting by one or two tribes, were ſo religiouſly obſerved, that if a man met during that time the murderer of his father, he durſt not offer him any violence. The hiſtory or traditions of the old Arabs do not mention above ſix tranſgreſſions of this law; and theſe are ſtiled Impious wars. As three of thoſe ſacred months, however, followed cloſe together, they uſed ſometimes to diſpenſe with the obſervation of *Muharrem*; keeping the next month (*Sefer*) ſacred in its room. Mahomet adopted theſe obſervances; with an exception to the mode of transferring a month; which he declared to be a profane innovation: but he gave his followers permiſſion to attack at all times Infidels, or thoſe who did not pay a proper regard to the inſtitution. See Prelim. Diſc. to Sale's Alcoran, p. 196.

Battles fought during the ſacred months were called افجرة *aſſeret*; from فجار *fejar* Wickedneſs.

The *Treuga Dei* or *Truce of God*, was adopted about the year 1032, in conſequence of a pretended revelation of a biſhop of Aquitaine. It was publiſhed in the time of a general calamity; and it made ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of men, that a general ceſſation of private hoſtilities was obſerved, we are told, for ſeven years; and a reſolution formed, that no man ſhould, in time to come, moleſt his adverſary from Thurſday evening till Monday morning. The *Pax Regis* or *Royal Truce* was an ordinance of Lewis VIII. King of France, A. D. 1245; by which the friends or vaſſals of a murdered or injured perſon were prohibited from commencing hoſtilities till

forty days after the commiſſion of the offence. Dr. Robertſon's Charles V. vol. i. p. 336-8.

P. 217. [b] Ockley's Hiſt. Arab. p. 148.

P. 218. [c] See Abulgazi Khan's Hiſt. Tatar. Part 9. c. 3.

P. 220. [a] See D'Herbelot, p. 7, 333. Sale's Prelim. Diſc. p. 38, &c. Code of Gentoo Laws, p. 88. See alſo Dictionary لوم *lum*: لوع *lua*: هاع *haa*: مكرز *mekerz*: ليم *leim*: لامان *laman*: هجرس *hejeres*: ناكس *nakes*: وزغ *wezegh*: which ſignify A miſer; avaricious; covetouſneſs, cowardice, baſeneſs, worthleſſneſs, and every villainous property of man. نان و نمك خاييني *nanu nemek khayini* A bread and ſalt traitor; he who betrays his patron, maſter, hoſt, or benefactor.

P. 221. [a] See the *Shah namé*, under the title of گذشتن سياوخس از كوه اتش *guzeſhteni Siavekhſh az kuhi atiſh* The paſſing of *Siavekhſh* through the flaming pile. See alſo Preface to Code of Gentoo Laws, p. lviii, &c.

P. 223. [a] D'Herbelot, p. 688.

P. 225. [b c] اتو *atu*, برطيل *bertil*, رشو *reſhu* Bribing a judge or great man, to obtain any thing contrary to juſtice. رشوت *reſhwet*, يادة *jadé* or يازة *yazé*, براكندة *berakendeh* بدكند *badkund*, بارة *baré*, ارش *erſh* A bribe to corrupt a judge. رايش *raiſh* A broker employed to bribe a judge. مدلي *mudli* Offering money to a judge, in order to corrupt him. نظارة *nezaret* denotes the technical language of the Arabian lawyers. مهاش *mehaſh* Different tribes of Pagan Arabians aſſembling round a fire; cuſtomary when they entered into treaties. هولة *hawlet* A ſacred fire, over which witneſſes uſed to ſwear.

P. 226. [d] نگارستان *nigariſtan* The gallery of pictures: a work ſomewhat reſembling the Guliſtan; being an agreeable miſcellany in proſe and verſe. The anecdotes in it are in general conſidered as founded on real hiſtory.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

SECT. I.

Supplemental obſervations on the Greek Hiſtorians. Their general merit acknowledged. Their inaccuracies complained of by their greateſt admirers. Singular diſagreement of chronologers and commentators. Further ſtrictures upon the expedition of Xerxes. Grounds upon which Aſiatic authors might conſider the Greeks as tributary or dependent upon the Perſian empire. Obſervations on Mr. Bryant's animadverſions on this head.

IN the preceding ſheets, I have ventured to queſtion the authority of the writers of Greece; chiefly with regard to Eaſtern ſubjects: and have not, I am afraid, expreſſed myſelf, on ſome points, with clearneſs ſufficient to be rightly underſtood. For although I have propoſed doubts of ſome facts, I would

not be thought to queſtion all. What I have merely given as the relations of Aſiatic writers, I would not be ſuppoſed implicitly to adopt. And whilſt my purpoſe has been ſimply to ſubmit to the attention of future hiſtorians the incongruities of Weſtern and Eaſtern authors, I would not be underſtood to give a preference, where I have only meant an impartial inveſtigation. [a]

THE animadverſions on this ſubject, which I have had any opportunity of learning, have turned principally — Upon the general credit to which the Greeks are intitled, from their antiquity—Upon the expedition of Xerxes—And upon the idea of the Grecians being tributary or ſubject to the Perſian kings. [b]

To theſe points I ſhall beg leave to ſpeak: and flatter myſelf, whatever difference of opinion may be entertained on ſubjects ſo remote, and ſo full of uncertainty, that no man of candour will greatly condemn me, for endeavouring to explain or to ſupport my former poſitions. I again declare, that I cannot have the leaſt partiality for one ſingle circumſtance, which, on the balance of fair argument, may appear to be wrong: for whilſt I ſee no neceſſity in the belief of any hiſtorical abſurdity, I can ſee as little propriety

in refuſing my aſſent to whatever has ſolid pretenſions to truth or probability. [c]

THAT Europe is much indebted to the Grecian writers, every man of reaſon will be forward to acknowledge. They unqueſtionably did a great deal: but could they do all? Was nothing to be left to other nations, and to other times? Like a fine luſtre in a large hall, they might diffuſe their rays a great way around: but could they illuminate all the extremities; could they throw light into every dark receſs? In places and in times too remote for the obſervation of the European Ancients, can it be too great a ſtretch of fancy to ſuppoſe, that native writers of diſtant countries might, poſſibly, furniſh ſome feeble lights, to guide us through obſcurities; which, after all, we ought rather to regret than to wonder at? For, when we conſider the infinite diſadvantages under which, in thoſe early times, a writer muſt have ſtruggled: when we conſider the comparative difficulty of intercourſe and information: when we conſider the facility of impoſition, to which a vivacity of imagination is naturally expoſed: with the numberleſs fictions and prejudices, to which miſconception or ſuperſtition had given a currency: we ſhall be leſs ſurprized,

take them for all in all, that they had ſome failings, than that they had ſo few. *

THAT the Greeks, however, with all their beauty of compoſition, are in various lights inconſiſtent, is no diſcovery of mine. Even the ancients, as well as their greateſt advocates among the moderns, have dwelt upon their faults. *Veliſicatus Athos, et quicquid Græcia mendax audet in hiſtoria*, was ſung by Juvenal many years ago. The judicious Quinctilian thought he paſſed not too keen a cenſure, when he wrote, *Græcis hiſtoricis plerumque poeticæ ſimilem eſſe licentiam*. Pliny, at the expence of every preceding hiſtorian, ſays, *Diodorum primum Græcorum deſiiſſe nugari*: whilſt Ludovicus Vives declares, *Nihil Diodoro eſſe nugacius*. *

CAN any thing be more ſevere than the ſtrictures of Strabo? "Though they (the "early Greek hiſtorians) have pretended to "give a hiſtory of Cyrus, and his particular "wars with thoſe who were called Meſſa-"getæ; yet nothing preciſe and ſatisfactory "could ever be obtained; not even in reſpect "to the war. There is the ſame uncertainty "with regard to the ancient hiſtory of the Per-"ſians; as well as that of the Medes and Sy-"rians: we can meet with little that can be "deemed authentic, on account of the weak-

"neſs of thoſe who wrote, and their uniform "love of fable. For finding that writers "who profeſſedly deal in fiction without any "pretenſions to the truth were regarded; "they thought that they ſhould make their "writings equally acceptable, if in the ſyſtem "of their hiſtory they were to introduce cir- "cumſtances, which they had neither ſeen "nor heard, nor received upon the authority "of another perſon; proceeding merely upon "this principle, that they ſhould be moſt "likely to pleaſe people's fancy, by having "recourſe to what was marvellous and new. "On this account we may more ſafely truſt "to Heſiod and Homer, when they preſent "us with a liſt of demigods and heroes, and "even to the tragic poets, than to Cteſias, "Herodotus, Hellanicus, and writers of that "claſs. Even the generality of hiſtorians "who write about Alexander are not ſafely "to be truſted: for they ſpeak with great "confidence, relying upon the glory of the "monarch whom they celebrate, and the "remoteneſs of the countries in which he "was engaged; even at the extremities of "Aſia; at a great diſtance from us and our "concerns. This renders them very ſecure. "For what is referred to a diſtance is dif- "ficult to be confuted." (lib. 11. p. 774.)—

In another place, Strabo goes on in the ſame ſtrain: "The writers who muſt neceſſarily be appealed to, were in continual oppoſition, and contradicted one another. And how could it be otherwiſe? for if they erred ſo ſhamefully when they had oculat proof, how could they ſpeak with certainty, where they were led by hearſay?" (lib. 15. p. 1006.) [f]

But who has been more eloquent than Mr. Bryant upon the foibles of the Greeks? Who has treated, with a greater fluency of cenſure, their vanity, their inconſiſtency, and their fiction? And yet no man, who has read his works, will, I hope, ſuſpect him of a wiſh to degrade them unjuſtly. "The Grecians, ſays this learned gentleman, were groſsly ignorant in reſpect to foreign events." (Mythology Vol. I. p. 100.)—"They were a bigoted people, highly prejudiced in their own favour; and ſo devoted to idle tradition, that no arguments could wean them from their folly." (Vol. I. p. 143.)—— "The native Helladians were very limited in their knowledge. They had taken in the groſs whatever was handed down by tradition, and aſſumed to themſelves every hiſtory which was imported. They moreover held every nation but their own as barbarous;

" ſo that their inſuperable vanity rendered " it impoſſible for them to make any great " advances in hiſtorical knowledge." (Vol. I. p. 145.) — " They were under violent pre- " judices, and the ſubject matter of which " they treated, was in general ſo brief and li- " mited, that very little could be obtained " from it towards the hiſtory of other coun- " tries, or a knowledge of ancient times. " Even in reſpect to their own affairs, what- " ever light had been derived to them was ſo " perverted, and came through ſo dim a me- " dium, that it is difficult to make uſe of it " to any determinate and ſalutary purpoſe. " Yet the beauty of their compoſition has been " attended with wonderful influence. Many " have been ſo far captivated by this magic " as to give an implicit credence to all that " has been tranſmitted; and to ſacrifice their " judgment to the pleaſures of the fancy." (Vol. I. p. 146.)—" No people had a greater " love for ſcience; nor diſplayed a more re- " fined taſte in compoſition. Their ſtudy " was ever to pleaſe, and to raiſe admiration. " Hence they always aimed at the marvellous; " which they dreſſed up in the moſt winning " manner: at the ſame time they betrayed a " ſeeming veneration for antiquity. But their " judgment was perverted; and this venera-

"tion attended with little regard for the "truth." (Vol. I. p. 153.)—"There ſurely "never was any nation ſo incurious and indif- "ferent about truth. Hence have ariſen thoſe "contradictions and inconſiſtencies with which "their hiſtory is embarraſſed." (Vol. I. p. 155.) —"In reſpect to foreign hiſtory and geogra- "phical knowledge, the Greeks in general "were very ignorant." (Vol. I. p. 158.)— "Thus have the Greeks by their affectation "continually ruined hiſtory: and the reader "may judge how difficult it is to ſee the truth "through the miſt with which it is inviron- "ed." (Vol. II. p. 203)—Can it be neceſſary to add more?

After ſuch a weight of evidence, is there great preſumption in ſuppoſing, amidſt ſo much error, ſome amendment poſſible? Can there be any impropriety in the enquiry, how far the records and the hiſtorians of a people might, in reſpect to their own annals, correct the miſtakes and the fictions of ſtrangers? Or, can there be much harm, in directing, if poſſible, the attention of ingenious and learned travellers to the diſcovery of ſuch ancient Eaſtern materials, as might tend either to authenticate, or to confute, the Eaſtern Hiſtorians of more modern times?

How ſlender indeed were the beſt pretenſions of the Greeks to any real knowledge of the hiſtory, language, or manners of ancient Perſia? Xenophon and Cteſias were amongſt the few who could have even an opportunity of conſulting authentic records. Yet, by a ſingular fatality, there are not two productions of antiquity more queſtioned, than the Cyropædia of Xenophon, and the Annals of Cteſias. [1]

Xenophon was in no place where archives could apparently be kept. He was in none of the capitals of the Perſian empire; and we cannot, I think, look for any in Aſia Minor: whilſt, in the courſe of his famous expedition, he was in ſuch a perpetual hurry of march and action; that he could have but little leiſure to ſtudy any thing in a language and character, which in all probability he hardly knew.—Whatever he learnt, therefore, could be only oral fragments; the deficiencies of which he ſeems liberally to have ſupplied from his own imagination. And that this was the idea, even of the ancients, we may learn from Plato and from Cicero; who have conſidered the Inſtitutions of Cyrus not as a hiſtory founded on truth, but merely as Xenophon's ideas of a juſt prince, and of an excellent government. [k]

Cteſias, we are informed, was a phyſi-

cian; and reſided many years at the court of that prince, called by the Greeks Artaxerxes Mnemon. Here, it is ſaid, he had acceſs to the royal records. But how much has this been queſtioned? Even ſo early as Strabo, we find his annals conſidered as mere legends. They are in oppoſition to almoſt every other writer: and with the Bible, they have little diſcernible affinity. Dr. Jackſon, it may be obſerved, indeed, has made an attempt to find out one. Thonus Concolerus, the 36th King of the Cteſian catalogue, he ſays, is the ſame as the Senacherib of Scripture: but how? In order to adjuſt the chronology, the Doctor finds it neceſſary to ſuppoſe four of Cteſias's Median kings, to have been Aſſyrian Prefects; and brings Thonus Concolerus 111 years nearer to the Chriſtian era, than Cteſias had placed him: ſo very diſtant is this fanciful reſemblance between the actions, the eras, and the names of thoſe princes, whom the learned gentleman wiſhes to conſider as the ſame perſon. Such methods of clearing up anachroniſms, and reconciling Sacred with Prophane Hiſtory, may appear wonderful to a plain man: but theſe operations of chronologers occur ſo often, that our ſurprize, if we read them with attention, has hardly time to fix upon one object, till it is called off to another and an-

other; and all equally difficult to be accounted for, on the ſimple principles of common ſenſe alone. [1]

But it is not my intention to dwell on ſuch ſubjects: the mere diſcovery of error is a painful purſuit. Volumes might indeed be filled with the inconſiſtencies of the Greeks: but many more with the contradictions of later writers. For notwithſtanding the ſentiments of Plato and Cicero, the Cyropædia has been followed, as an authentic hiſtory, by Africanus, Joſephus, Euſebius, Uſher, Prideaux. And the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory conſider its authority as far preferable to that of Herodotus. Scaliger, Eraſmus, and many others, look upon it, on the contrary, as a mere collection of figments: and Dr. Jackſon, declaring it to be more feigned than real, ſays, that it has miſled every writer who has attempted to follow it. The Doctor at the ſame time ſtiles Herodotus the moſt accurate and faithful Hiſtorian: and conſiders Cteſias in a very different light from the learned in general. To Cteſias, on the other hand, Sir Iſaac Newton pays ſmall regard: but to Herodotus, notwithſtanding the anathema of Strabo, he looks up with high reſpect. He calls him, after Cicero, the Father of Hiſtory, and endeavours to reconcile

with him every point of early chronology.—It muſt, I think, be unneceſſary to proceed.—When ſuch men differ, who can decide? And from whence, let me again aſk, can all this contradiction originate? Could Joſephus, Euſebius, Syncellus, Scaliger, Petavius, Voſſius, Uſher, Prideaux, Newton, Jackſon, (men of ſuch uncommon learning, induſtry, and diſcernment) poſſibly find themſelves ſo often and ſo remarkably in oppoſition, were there not ſomewhere a radical error? Indeed we may conclude, with Voſſius, *Ubi tanta eſt contentio, ibi vel nullam vel incertam eſſe veritatem.* Such men, could truth have been diſcovered, muſt undoubtedly have found her: but, diſguiſed as ſhe has been by fiction; perplexity, by their endeavours, ſeems only to have become more perplexed. One frames a ſyſtem. Another beats it down. He builds again; and a third demoliſhes. All appeal to their favourite authors: all are deciſive and peremptory. *Ipſi et ſe invicem et ſe ipſos miſere lancinant et refutant.* All is confuſion: and we may ſay indeed, That Gods meet Gods and juſtle in the dark. [m]

But no ſubject has afforded a more extenſive field for diſſenſion than the Babyloniſh, Aſſyrian, Median, and Perſian dynaſties: and here the ſyſtematic knife has

been uſed with much addreſs. When chronologers meet with kings which puzzle them, without ceremony they cut them off; or perhaps they turn them upſide down: they faſhion Aſſyrians into Babylonians, Perſians into Medes: and, whilſt they find here a hundred years too much, and there a hundred years too little, they diſpute with keenneſs a few months in a prince's reign; who, in all probability, never reigned at all. Yet, were no other hiſtory to be perplexed with them, this might be harmleſs, perhaps amuſing. But how much learning has been moſt zealouſly miſplaced, to injure the Sacred Writings, by improper references and illuſtrations? By a ſingular impropriety, learned men have ſuppoſed errors, where they ſhould have ſuppoſed none: and they have gone upon authorities, which alone, from their uncertainty, ought to have been ſuſpected. So completely diſguiſed, or perhaps ſo completely imaginary, indeed, are thoſe Græco-Aſiatic dynaſties, if they may be ſo named, that I firmly believe there will hardly be found one inſtance, where they have been appealed to, in ſupport of Scripture, in which ſome obvious inconſiſtency may not be diſcovered. Without ſearching for one, I have ſeen many: but I ſhall at preſent confine myſelf to one example, which

I found, by chance, in Dr. Jackſon; an author of the higheſt reputation for chronological learning. It is upon a point too of much importance, The prophecy of Daniel's ſeventy weeks: and it greatly hurts his hypotheſis. "The famous prophecy, ſays the "Doctor, of Daniel's Seventy Weeks, or "490 years, to the baptiſm and preaching "of the Meſſiah, (Dan. ch. ix. 24.) com-"menced in the reign of Xerxes, as Joſe-"phus aſſures us, and in the *twentieth year* "*of his reign*, as we are told in *Nehemiah*, "ch. ii. 1. ſo it commenced in the year be-"fore Chriſt 464. Chriſt was baptized, and "began to preach his Goſpel, A. D. 28. in "the 15th year of Tiberius Cæſar. Now "463 years before the vulgar era of Chriſt, "and twenty-ſeven years after it, make ex-"actly 490 years complete: and it was in "the 491ſt year after the twentieth of "Xerxes, when Chriſt was baptized, and "entered upon his prophetic office. Chriſt "was then thirty years of age; and there-"fore was born two years at leaſt before the "vulgar Chriſtian era." [a]

Now what poſſible concern, in ſtrict propriety, could the great object of the Meſſiah have to do with the reign of a Perſian king? Or could any thing vindicate a reference to

it, but ſome ſtrong and pointed light, which it might throw upon the ſubject? But on the contrary, this defeats the very purpoſe: it is weighed in the balance and found wanting. That Xerxes could not poſſibly be the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah is evident not merely from a diſagreement in name; for upon that alone it is unſafe to build; but from the different terms of their reigns. Xerxes, in the very ſection where this is introduced, the Doctor has been at much pains to prove, reigned juſt *twenty years and five months*; but Artaxerxes reigned at leaſt *thirty-two* years, as we may read in Nehemiah, ch. v. 14. "Moreover, from the time that I was appointed to be their governor in the land of "Judah, from the *twentieth* year even unto "the *two and thirtieth* year of Artaxerxes "the king, that is, twelve years, I and my "brethren have not eaten the bread of the "governor." Voſſius indeed may have helped to miſlead Dr. Jackſon in this idea; for he too calls *Artaxerxes* in Nehemiah *Xerxes*: but they are evidently in the wrong. In name, in era, and in extent of reign, theſe two kings are clearly different: and to reconcile thoſe incoherencies there appears to be only two ways. Xerxes's reign muſt either be lengthened to a period which will unhinge at once

Greek chronology; or the Bible muſt be new modelled into a conſiſtency with it. This indeed has been too often attempted: but in vain. They are heterogeneous bodies, and never can incorporate.

How far, on the other hand, Eaſtern Hiſtorians might be found to coincide in general with Scripture, as I have already hinted, ſeems by no means impoſſible: but it is a conſideration of too much importance to be ſlightly decided. It would require more reading and more reflexion, than my preſent purſuits will allow: or my abilities or inclination can ever permit me to attempt. One opinion however I will not heſitate to give: They cannot well occaſion more confuſion than the learned have already created, by adhering, in their commentaries, to the chronology and narrative of the Greeks. Should the preſent Perſian hiſtorians ever be examined with care; could they be authenticated by means of earlier writers; and connected with the ancient royal records of Perſia; I think, it is by no means improbable, that we may diſcover the Perſian empire to have been, in very early ages, of great extent: and that thoſe imaginary dynaſties of Babyloniſh, Aſſyrian, and Median kings, which have ſo much confounded our chronogers, were, like thoſe of more authentic times,

only governors or feudatory princes under the kings of Perſia. Theſe might be more fixed or more fluctuating, according to the will of the paramount, or the conduct of the vaſſal. Different provinces would generally have different governors: but a ſon, a brother, or a royal favourite might, at times, have many. The king might ſometimes permit governments to be hereditary: ſometimes make them move in quicker ſucceſſion. We find often, in the Greek liſts, many of thoſe princes crouded into the compaſs of a few years: and this might ariſe from the policy or caprice of the Sovereign, who might remove or diſpatch his governors, as prudence or jealouſy dictated. Theſe governors, whether feudatory or temporary, might often fall into arrears of tribute; they might become intoxicated with power; and they might rebel. The governor of Media, or of Aſſyria, for example, might be ſent to chaſtiſe the viceroy of Babylonia; and, as a reward for his ſervices, he might have the province, which he had reduced to obedience, annexed to his own.

Now ſuch arrangements, to diſtant obſervers, might eaſily give the appearance of the termination of one dynaſty; of the commencement of another; of interregnums; and of every operation of one independent prince againſt

another: whilſt the high royal titles, by which ſome of thoſe governors might be diſtinguiſhed, will prove nothing againſt the hypotheſis. Lofty titles have, in all ages, been liberally beſtowed by the paramount ſovereigns of Aſia on their favourites and feudatory princes. A ſimple viceroy might poſſibly have called himſelf the *Great King*, or the *Lord of all Aſia*; or he might have been ſo dignified by the Grecians: but titles, we all know, do not always carry with them actual poſſeſſion. No prince indeed that ever lived could, at any time, be ſtiled, without an hyperbole, *Lord of all Aſia*. Such titles are in fact mere Eaſtern figures: and we find often ſimilar expreſſions, where it is evident they can by no means be taken in their literal extent, "Thus ſaith "Cyrus, king of Perſia, the Lord God of "Heaven hath given me *all the kingdoms of* "*the earth*, Ezra, ch. i. 2."—"For I never "hurt any that was willing to ſerve Nabu-"chodonoſor, the *king of all the earth*," Judith, ch. xi. 1.

In reſpect to the *Expedition of Xerxes*, excluſive of the intrinſic difficulties which we find in the Grecian accounts, I muſt ſtill be permitted to conſider the total ſilence of Eaſtern authors, upon an event of ſuch mag-

mitude, as a circumſtance of ſome wonder. Silence, alone, I am ſenſible can never diſprove a fact: but it may ſurely furniſh matter of doubt. Did an intelligent foreigner read, in our hiſtory, the battles of Creſcy, of Poictiers, and of Agincourt, or the Deſtruction of the Spaniſh Armada; which, on turning to the Annals of France and Spain, he found nothing to corroborate: it would hardly be thought, I believe, any impeachment of his judgment, ſhould he either entertain a ſuſpicion of the whole, or ſuppoſe, that much of their importance had ariſen from the embelliſhment of our hiſtorians.

THAT the Perſians had been early in the practice of keeping records, and entering in them, with minuteneſs and regularity, a variety of circumſtances, not ſo intereſting to their empire as the invaſion of Xerxes, we are ſufficiently informed in the Sacred Writings. Is it eaſily to be conceived then, that an expedition ſhould have been wholly unnoticed, which muſt have ſtrained every ſinew of the ſtate; in which two kings are deſcribed as ſo anxiouſly intereſted; which was many years in preparation; and in the courſe of which hundreds of royal edicts muſt unavoidably have been iſſued and recorded? I think it is not. And upon this, as well as on many

other grounds, I remain ſtill in doubt, whether any ſuch expedition was ever undertaken by the *Paramount ſovereign of Perſia*. Diſguiſed in name, by ſome Greek corruption, Xerxes may poſſibly have been a feudatory prince or viceroy of the Weſtern diſtricts: and that an invaſion of Greece may have actually taken place, under this prince, I ſhall readily believe: but upon a ſcale, I muſt alſo believe, infinitely narrower than the leaſt exaggerated deſcription of the Greek hiſtorians.*

In theſe indeed the truth is ſo remarkably blended with fiction, that we can no where draw the line; nor determine, upon any rational principles, what we ſhould believe, and what we ſhould reject. In Herodotus, as before obſerved, the reputed followers of Xerxes amount to 5,283,220. Iſocrates, in his *Panathenaicos*, eſtimates the land army in round numbers at 5,000,000. And with them Plutarch, in general, agrees. But ſuch myriads appeared to Diodorus, Pliny, Ælian, and other later writers, ſo much ſtretched beyond all belief, that they at once cut off about four fifths, to bring them within the line of poſſibility. Yet what is this, but a ſingular and very unauthorized liberty in one of the moſt conſequential points of the expedition? What circumſtance in the whole

harration is more explicit in Herodotus; or, by its frequent repetition in detail, not in figures but in words at length, ſeems leſs liable to the miſtakes of copiers? If one claſs of hiſtorians think it neceſſary then to differ ſo widely from their authority in ſo very eſſential a point, upon what principles are we to give credit to other facts, which they adopt, without producing any corroborating evidence to render them more authentic?

YET, like all who have not truth for their ground-work, even theſe writers cannot avoid contradiction in their own narratives. Diodorus, for example, makes the Aſiatic army of Xerxes 800,000; and the European auxiliaries 200,000; in all *one million*. But, in a few pages, he gives us the Inſcription ſaid to have been cut on the monument at Thermopylæ; where, like Falſtaff's men in buckram, *one million* riſes at once to *two*. And here again, he diſagrees with Herodotus, who, from the ſame monument, makes the number that fought againſt Leonidas no fewer than *three millions* *. A monument, we may alſo

* Diodorus, at the ſame time, has preſerved no conſiſtency in the proportion, which his main army bears to that of the old hiſtorian: for, inſtead of *two millions*, in the ratio of one to five, there ſhould hardly have been 600,000.

obſerve is, in general, conſidered as a record of ſome authenticity: but if this had not been much ſuſpected, Diodorus, whatever liberties he might be diſpoſed to take with Herodotus, would hardly have ventured to have altered it. Such diſcordant authorities indeed, did not the numbers themſelves exceed all credibility, ſpeak little in favour of the inſcription: and lead us to conclude, that the ſame miſinformation, policy, or hyperbole, which influenced Herodotus and Iſocrates, might have alſo influenced thoſe who erected the monument. To flatter the proweſs, to elevate the ſpirits, and to ſwell the importance of a nation, even by fiction, has been often thought the part of a good citizen. And to ſuch motives, I believe, we may ſafely attribute every circumſtance of exaggerated deſcription in the detail of this famous invaſion.

I SHALL not here enlarge upon the bridge over the Helleſpont, which there is reaſon to believe never exiſted but in the imagination: but ſhall only obſerve, that a bridge of boats, two miles in length, over a ſtreight of the ſea; where the current, when the wind blows from the north, ruſhes with a rapidity which no veſſel can reſiſt; ſeems not only to be unſupported, but contradicted by the experience of mankind in all ages and countries. Neither ſhall I make many remarks

on the cutting of Mount Athos. This celebrated promontory on the coaſt of Macedonia, is not, by ſea, much above two hundred miles from Athens: and we are told, that Xerxes, for three years before he croſſed the Helleſpont, had employed a number of men in ſeparating it from the continent, in order to make a canal for his ſhipping. We are likewiſe told, that Themiſtocles had, even from the battle of Marathon, been inceſſantly alarming the Athenians with another Perſian invaſion. But do we ever hear of his ſupporting his opinion by the moſt diſtant hint of this canal; the very digging of which muſt have filled all Greece with aſtoniſhment, and been the ſubject of every public converſation? Numbers of his fellow citizens, we are likewiſe informed, gave no credit to his predictions. But could they have been one moment in doubt, whilſt chains were profeſſedly forging for them, even in their hearing? Themiſtocles, it is ſaid, prevailed on the Athenians to add a hundred gallies to their fleet. But do we hear even of a propoſal, during the whole three years, to ſurprize the Perſian ſquadron, or to cut off this detachment, before they could be ſupported by the grand army? Is there any thing here conſiſtent with the character of Greek? Where is that valour, vigilance, and enter-

prize, for which they have been ſo celebrated? Could they, could any men indeed, have been ſo completely ſtupid, as to lie thus ſupinely inattentive, without a ſingle effort, till ruin was at the threſhold, and nothing but a miracle could ſave them? Upon general principles I hold it to be abſolutely incredible.

I SHALL conclude my obſervations on this head, with a few remarks touching the expence; upon which however I build little. But I only wiſh, as Herodotus even here ſeems inconſiſtent, to ſee it judiciouſly accounted for by any gentleman, who may adopt his relation; in reſpect to thoſe prodigious works, and the numbers engaged in the enterprize. I have not met with the exact pay of a Perſian ſoldier in old times: but the Greeks tell us, that they ſerved for nothing, till the age of twenty: after which, they received pay from the public treaſuries of the different provinces. We are not, I think, to ſuppoſe the Perſians, at the era of this invaſion, to have been poorer than the Greeks; whoſe foot ſoldiers, at different periods, received two, three, and four oboli a day. It may alſo be here in general remarked, that the pay of the Aſiatic ſoldiery, in all ages, where rich plunder was not in view, has for the moſt part been higher than that of European armies. But

let us go upon the moſt moderate line of calculation; and take the loweſt pay of the Grecian foot ſoldier, as the ſtandard for the army of Xerxes. This, at two-pence a day for 5,283,220, would exceed ſixteen millions per annum.* Now the extra-contingencies of any campaign will be found, I believe, in all times to exceed the pay of the troops. And when we conſider the immenſe fleet, on board of which were about 600,000 men: the ſubſidies and additional pay to the mercenaries from Carthage, Gaul, Spain, Italy; all employed againſt a country where no plunder was to be expected: and if to this we ſhall add the enormous expence of a luxurious Aſiatic court, the calculation muſt be eſteemed low, if we only double the pay, and make the whole annual charge thirty-two millions. But Herodotus, who has particularly enumerated the articles of revenue at which the provinces of Perſia had been taxed by Darius Hyſtaſpes, a few years before this expedition, makes the

* A poor man, according to the orator Lyſias, was allowed an obolus (or penny) a day from the public treaſury of Athens: and 6000 pence was conſidered as ſufficient for the maintenance of five perſons during a year. If each follower of Xerxes then conſumed as much as a common Athenian, inſtead of ſixteen millions, it would be above twenty-ſix; which is in favour of my calculation.

whole amount to no more than 14,560 Euboic talents; which (at 193 l. 15 s. per talent) is only 2,821,000 l. Some ſmaller ſums are indeed hinted at, as not conſiderable enough to be particularly ſpecified: but ſuppoſe the whole to be 3,000,000 l. and it will fall ſhort of one tenth of the expence. Darius, it may alſo be obſerved, who, according to Herodotus, firſt eſtabliſhed a fixed revenue, was almoſt conſtantly engaged in wars; and thoſe of the moſt draining kind: either againſt revolted ſubjects, as the Babylonians, Egyptians, Ionians: or againſt the Scythians and Greeks, by whom he was repulſed. India is the only exception: the tribute from which (4680 talents) is included in the above liſt. In ſuch circumſtances, he cannot be ſuppoſed to have hoarded much. Xerxes could of courſe ſucceed to no great ſuperfluity of treaſure: and in the beginning of his reign, we are told, he was under the neceſſity of quelling the Egyptian revolt; which could not be accompliſhed without conſiderable expence. Whatever ideas may be formed, at the ſame time, of Aſiatic deſpotiſm, we may obſerve, that the moſt arbitrary tyrant cannot, in any age, much exceed bounds in the raiſing of extraordinary ſupplies. A people can bear oppreſſion only to a certain degree: and depopulation or re-

bellion muſt ſoon convince him of his error. The great ſources of riches, trade, manufacture, and agriculture, in any improved ſtate, were to be found in few of the provinces: and the various reſources of modern times were then utterly unknown. But, to give every latitude to the argument, let us ſuppoſe, on this occaſion, a fourfold proportion of money, proviſions and other articles to have been exacted; an increaſe of taxation which no country in the world perhaps could ever ſuddenly bear: yet even this will but little exceed the third part of the loweſt poſſible eſtimate. When we conſider then the number of years, which this expedition, in preparation and execution, is ſaid to have employed; and the enormous ſums to which the whole muſt have amounted; Herodotus and his followers cannot be conſiſtent. Either his minute ſtate of the revenue of Perſia muſt be fictitious; or the Invaſion, upon the enlarged line, muſt, even on this ground, be impoſſible. *

But, did any further arguments appear neceſſary to confute theſe exaggerated numbers, the contraſting of them with the comparative ſmallneſs of the Perſian armies, which oppoſed Alexander, would alone be ſufficient. It was not *then* an expedition againſt a ſmall territory. The object was the preſervation or

the downfal of the Perſian empire. Darius was a prince in every reſpect ſuperior to any deſcription we have of Xerxes. His empire was larger, more firmly eſtabliſhed, more flouriſhing; and his riches, if we credit Juſtin, incomparably greater. When all was at ſtake may we not then believe that every exertion was made? Yet although the deſign of the preparations of Philip and Alexander had been long known in Perſia, the army at the paſſage of the Granicus hardly exceeded 100,000 men. At Iſſus, where Darius commanded in perſon, the accounts vary from four to ſix hundred thouſand. And, at the great and deciſive battle of Arbela, after the king had ſtrained every nerve, whilſt Alexander was employed in the ſiege of Tyre and in the reduction of Egypt, the moſt exaggerated eſtimates make his army only about a million; whilſt the more authentic details do not make it half that number. [y]

To ſum up all; the expedition of Xerxes, upon the moſt moderate ſcale of the Greek writers, ſeems to be inconſiſtent with probability and the ordinary powers of man. It is all upon ſtilts. Every ſtep we take is upon romantic ground. And nothing indeed ſeems wanting, but a few Genies, to make it, in every reſpect, an exceeding good Arabian Tale. [z]

I HAVE obſerved, that till the reign of Philip of Macedon, the Perſian hiſtorians have hardly mentioned the Grecians but in the light of tributaries to the Perſian empire: and, if we pay a little attention to the Grecians themſelves, we ſhall have little reaſon, I preſume, to think that this idea was adopted without ſome foundation. For, that every ſtate almoſt, European and Aſiatic, without excepting even Athens and Sparta, were, at different times, and in different degrees, under the control of the Perſian kings, will not with juſtice be diſputed, by any man who has read with attention the hiſtorians of Greece. [a]

THE Perſians, like every aſpiring overgrown ſtate, early aimed at univerſal empire: and, in the purſuit of this pernicious phantom, ſo flattering to the pride of abſolute monarchs as well as of republics, it is not the courage, nor is it the poverty, of any particular people, that can put them in ſafety againſt the efforts of over-ruling ambition. [b]

THE Gauls, the Germans, the Britons, were unqueſtionably very brave and very poor: yet the Romans thought them objects of ſufficient conſequence, to employ againſt them, for many years, their greateſt generals: to fight numberleſs battles with various ſucceſs: to deſtroy above a million of men: and all, to

get poſſeſſion of countries, the very deſcription of which ſeems to freeze their authors as they write.

The Scythians, the Greeks, and other ancient nations, appear to have been ſimilar objects of ambition to the Perſians. With many they were ſucceſsful. By the Scythians they were repulſed. And, in reſpect to the Greeks, nothing for a long time appears to have been deciſive. The Ionians, the Æolians, the Dorians, we are however informed, were ſubjected by Cyrus, after the defeat of Croeſus. In the revenue roll of Darius Hyſtaſpes, we ſee them accordingly, with other neighbouring ſtates, rated at 400 talents: and, with ſome intervals of revolt, they continued to be tributary to the Perſians, till the time of Alexander. Indeed, their general conduct, upon various occaſions, proves them, as well as others, to have been, to every great purpoſe, ſubjects of the empire. In the fleet of Xerxes, as enumerated by Herodotus and Diodorus, we have not only Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians, but Rhodians, Samians, Mileſians, Leſbians, Chians, Theſſalians, Acheans; and indeed ſquadrons from almoſt every ſeaport and iſland comprehended between the Helleſpont and the promontories of Sunium in Attica, and Triopus on the Carian coaſt: whilſt his land army,

on his arrival in Europe, was, according to Lyſias and other writers, reinforced by every Grecian ſtate; Athens, Sparta, Theſpia, and Platæa excepted.

WHAT concluſions can be drawn from ſuch undoubted facts? Have ſuch ſtates the appearance of independence? That there were frequent ſtruggles againſt the Perſian power, headed by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, cannot be doubted: but it ſeems to be equally undoubted, that on the appearance of the Perſian armies, thoſe republics, who, either from fear or choice, continued in obedience, immediately, like Phrygians, Syrians, and other ſubjects of the empire, joined the royal ſtandard; and fought, without compulſion or reluctance, againſt their countrymen.

THE invaſion of Xerxes, it muſt be here obſerved, was not a ſudden attack, where one ſtate might have been ſubdued before the others could have marched to their aſſiſtance: for, whilſt the famous canal of Athos and the equally famous bridge over the Helleſpont were a-making, Xerxes, as the Greeks tell us, was full three years on the coaſts of Aſia Minor, in open preparation for the ſubjugation of Greece. Here was evidently time ſufficient, whilſt the ſtorm was impending, to have healed all animoſities, which peace and rivalſhip

might have created; to have united every *independent* ſtate in one compact body; and to have made every kind of exertion for repelling the common foe. But that the Perſian was conſidered, as ſuch, by *all* the republics of Greece, does by no means appear on the face of hiſtory. Many of them ſeem, on the contrary, to have been far more afraid of the arbitrary tyranny of Athens and Sparta: and apparently, with much more reaſon. For the moſt unfeeling deſpotiſm on record carries with it an air of mildneſs, when compared to the barbarous rapacity with which the Athenians and Spartans oppreſſed their colonies and ſubordinate ſtates. We accordingly, on this occaſion, read of no compulſion. The Aſiatic, European, and Inſular ſquadrons of Greek ſhipping join Xerxes on his firſt movement, three years before he ſets foot on European ground; and before he could be in a ſituation to overawe them: whilſt, had all the Aſiatic Greeks, on the contrary, like independent men, betaken themſelves to their ſhipping, and joined the Iſland and European fleets; they might have deſtroyed, or at leaſt ſo weakened the Perſian maritime force, as to have rendered the invaſion abortive. [f]

CAN any chain of acknowledged facts imply a clearer dependence of the Greeks; whether

it originated from the ſword, from corruption, from jealouſy, or from all together? Nothing but the poſitive proof which their own hiſtories afford us, when they come down to more authentic times. For, from the peace of Antalcidas, in the year 387 before Chriſt, till the Macedonian conqueſt, there is hardly an hiſtorical fact leſs liable to ſuſpicion. The Aſiatic Greeks and many of the iſlands are, in that diſgraceful treaty, formally acknowledged as ſubjects of the Perſian king: their citadels are garriſoned by Perſian troops: and an actual tribute is continued to be levied, as an old and undoubted right. Even Athens and Sparta appear to have enjoyed, during this period, only the mere ſhadow of freedom: a ſhadow, ſomewhat ſimilar to that with which they were afterwards flattered, when part of the Roman empire: and they ſeem indeed to have been, to every eſſential end, as effectually ſubmiſſive to the *Great King*, as any province of his dominions. Can any evidence, upon this head, be more pointed and explicit than the ſpeeches of their greateſt orators on the abject ſlavery of their condition? "At preſent," ſays Iſocrates (in his Panegyric of Athens) "the king of Perſia takes the lead "in all our affairs, commands us to purſue

" that conduct which is moſt agreeable to his " intereſt; and, except that he does not ſend " his nobles to be our governors, what is " wanting to complete his authority? Is he " not the arbiter of war and peace? Are not " all our meaſures ſubject to his controul? " Do we not run to him with our accuſa- " tions againſt one another, as to our um- " pire and lord? and we call him the *Great* " *King*, as if we were his ſlaves." [s]

Can more be neceſſary? And what corollary muſt we draw from the whole? That the Aſiatic Greeks were ſubject and tributary to Perſia, there does not remain, in my apprehenſion, the leaſt doubt. And that the European ſtates, if not poſitively furniſhing a revenue, were in a ſtate of dependence almoſt as humiliating, ſeems to be equally clear. Do we not find the Perſian monarch preſcribing their rule of conduct? Do we not find their ſoldiers in all his armies? * Do we not find their chiefs reſorting to his court with ſolici-

* The Greek cities of Aſia Minor, particularly Miletus and Halicarnaſſus, (the birth-place of Herodotus) were moſt obſtinately defended againſt Alexander, by Memnon a Grecian: and he was oppoſed by Greeks in every battle he fought with Darius; no fewer than 12,000 of them falling at the battle of Iſſus.

tations and mutual complaints? What ſtronger marks of ſubjection, the form of Satrap government excepted, do we diſcover among the Egyptians, the Syrians, the Medes? And what ſituation of one country, with relation to another, could more fully juſtify writers who, from ſuch ſtrong appearances, ſhould declare the one to be ſubject or tributary to the other? Hiſtorians, when ſpeaking generally, are not expected to deſcend to minute exceptions. That ſome of the Grecian ſtates never were tributary to Perſia, in a literal ſenſe, I ſhall readily admit: but that there were enough, in the eye eſpecially of a foreign writer, to involve the ſmaller in the greater number, ſeems to be a very unqueſtionable hiſtorical fact. Nothing indeed is more common than ſuch general modes of expreſſion. Alexander is ſaid to have conquered India, when he confeſſedly never ſaw the Ganges. And the Romans thought there was no impropriety in calling Britain a province of the empire, though a great part of it remained inimical and independent. [h]

Before I conclude this head, I ſhall beg leave to offer a few obſervations on ſome animadverſions which Mr. Bryant has thought

proper to make on this ſubject †. It is im-

† "You favour the Perſian hiſtorians; and perhaps very juſtly. Yet I ſometimes have apprehended, that you may hurt your own cauſe by the principles upon which you try to eſtabliſh it. For when you contraſt the Perſian writers with thoſe of Greece, you ſeem to found their merit on mere negatives; which ſome may look upon as capital deficiencies. You accordingly tell us, p. 42. 3. that there is no mention made of Cyrus the Great; nor of Croeſus: nor of the kingdom of Lydia being annexed to that of Perſia. There is moreover no account of Smerdis Magnus; nor of Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes: nor does the name of Cyrus the Younger occur in the catalogue, which you give. Conſequently the expedition under Clearchus, and the return of the ten thouſand under Xenophon, are not to be found. *Not a veſtige*, ſay you, *is to be diſcovered of the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis, Platæa, or Mycale:* all which, I fear, will not make in favour of your hiſtorians. As they are therefore ſilent about ſo many events, pray, what information is there, for which we may be beholden to them? Why, they tell us, you ſay, p. 45. that the Grecians, ſo far from having had any advantages over the Perſians, were in reality tributaries to them; and their ſtates under contribution: p. 45. That Philip of Macedon was likewiſe dependant upon the ſame people: that he had been defeated in Macedonia by Darius; and paid annually *a thouſand golden eggs*, p. 49. Laſtly, what is very extraordinary, and little thought of, that Alexander the Great was a Perſian, the ſon of Darius Codomannus: the ſame prince, whom he defeated, and ſucceeded. ibid." See *Mr. Bryant's Apology*

poſſible to call them arguments: theſe he has not thought neceſſary. I wiſh he had thought it equally unneceſſary to miſrepreſent my meaning and to miſquote my words: or, (as he himſelf obſerves, in reſpect to the Dutch reviewers) "to invent matter of accuſation, where the writer himſelf is guiltleſs." Amongſt other points which I ſhall paſs unnoticed, I muſt beg to know where I have ſaid, that the Greeks had *no* advantages over the Grecians? where I have called Alexander a *Perſian*? and where he is ſaid to be the *ſon* of Darius Codomannus? I have doubted, and I think with reaſon, the *magnitude* of the Perſian invaſions, and of the Grecian victories: but where have I denied the events themſelves? I have ſaid that Alexander, for whom the Perſians have a high reſpect, was ſuppoſed by them to be the ſon of Darab I. by a daughter of Philip; but to have been *born in Macedon*: Does this conſtitute him a *Perſian*? *

to the Author of this Diſſertation, p. 93.—— I ſhall have occaſion to mention more particularly this (privately circulated) *Apology* in the courſe of the following ſheets.

* The Aſiatics, on the contrary, ſo far from calling him a *Perſian*, ſtile him, in general, *Eſkander Younani*, *Alexander the Ionian* or the *Greek*; to diſtinguiſh him from another famous *Eſkander*; whom they ſuppoſe to have been a very ancient king of Perſia.

I have ſaid too that Alexander was conſidered as the *brother by half blood* to Darab II. (Darius Codomannus): does that make him his *ſon?*

I MUST likewiſe beg of the learned gentleman to inform me, from what words of mine he can draw his concluſions in reſpect to *Cyrus the Younger*, and the *expedition of Clearchus?* Or where I have, in the moſt remote manner, even hinted a diſbelief of that part of hiſtory? What right, let me alſo aſk, could this prince have, either in Weſtern or Eaſtern hiſtorians, to a place in the catalogue of Perſian kings? Did he ever reign? Do we generally place among the ſovereigns of any ſtate unſucceſsful competitors for the throne? Do we rank the Duke of Monmouth among the kings of England? How can we reaſonably expect, at the ſame time, to find in Oriental writers the *return of the ten thouſand Greeks?* Illuſtrious as this retreat was, it is to accident alone that we are indebted for it, in any conſpicuous light. Had not ſuch a writer as Xenophon been actively concerned in the circumſtances which he relates, it might have been but barely known, and unintereſtingly recorded: like many a noble atchievement, which in all ages, from inattention or inability to commemorate them, have been either loſt, or very

imperfectly told. This famous expedition was certainly of high importance to the men engaged in it. It was glorious to the name of Greek. But could it ſtand in any ſuch light of conſequence to the Perſians? It might be ſufficient for their writers ſimply to mention, that a rebellion had broke out; that it had made a progreſs; and that it was cruſhed: without judging it in the leaſt neceſſary, to trace the ſcattered remains of the defeated army thro' all the difficulties of a route they did not know: or to relate adventures, which could never apparently reach their ear. *

But indeed the ſilence of the Perſian hiſtorians, with regard to ſuch an event, could never, in my opinion, injure it in the leaſt: any more than their ſilence on the internal wars and politics of Greece would affect Thucydides or the great Athenian orators. Details ſo minute, ſo accurate, and ſo apparently authentic, ſtand not in need of collateral ſupport: and muſt even ſo far affect the authority of contradictory writers, that, on this ground, I coincide entirely with Mr. Hume; "Diodorus Siculus is a good writer: but it is "with pain I ſee his narration contradict, in "ſo many particulars, the two moſt authen-"tic pieces of all Greek hiſtory, viz: Xeno-

" phon's expedition, and Demoſthenes's ora-
" tions." [1]

UPON the whole, I beg leave to repeat, that I entertain no undue partiality for Eaſtern writers: nor will I, in many reſpects, lift them to a level with the Greeks. Their manner is different, and leſs adapted to an European taſte. They have their prejudices too, as well as the Greeks; but we cannot ſo eaſily make an allowance for the one, as we have been accuſtomed to make for the other. It is to matters of fact, however, that I chiefly point. On this ground I have endeavoured to ſhew, that the Greeks are not always to be truſted. Some of their beſt friends, I have alſo ſhewn, think they are hardly to be truſted at all. Though the Aſiatics therefore may have ſome failings, they may have likewiſe ſome merits: and that they *might*, in judicious hands, amend our received hiſtory of Eaſtern countries, is not, I hope, too bold a thought. I have already obſerved, that the chief Perſian hiſtorians are ſubſequent to the Mohammedan era: but I have alſo obſerved, that they drew their materials from much older writers. Thoſe writers, it is true, are not at preſent known: but that is no argument, why they may not, in time, be found. M. D'Herbelot obſerves, that a collection of

ancient Perſian hiſtorians had been long ago tranſlated into Arabic by Ebn Mocanna. Could even this tranſlation be recovered, ſome judgment might poſſibly be formed of the authenticity of thoſe we already have. But this muſt be a diſtant object. Eaſtern ſtudies have but few admirers. And, indeed, till the Great and the Learned, as bodies or as individuals, ſhall be more forward in their encouragement of ſuch diſcoveries, thoſe who may beſtow much attention upon them, may boaſt perhaps more zeal than diſcretion; and poſſibly may write what very few will read.

SECT. II.

Of the Importance of women in the Eaſt. Their ſtation in ſociety not juſtly underſtood by European travellers. They enjoy in many parts privileges ſimilar to thoſe of Europe. The riſe and progreſs of the Mohammedan religion connected perhaps with thoſe privileges. Inſtances of the influence of women in public affairs. Marriage ſettlements. Divorces. Nuptial ceremonies. Singular modes of marriage. Dreſs of Eaſtern women. Many European faſhions of great antiquity in the Eaſt.

TRAVELLERS, in general, do not appear to have conceived a juſt idea of the ſituation of Women in many Eaſtern countries. They are, for the moſt part, conſidered by them as of ſmall conſequence in the ſtate: they are repreſented as mere ſlaves to the paſſions of the ſtronger ſex: and, becauſe the great men keep many beautiful Circaſſians locked up from public view, a proper diſtinction does not ſeem always to have been

made between them and free born women. But an attention to the languages and cuſtoms of Aſia, will give us reaſon to believe, that ſuch indiſcriminate obſervations are partial, ſuperficial, and inconcluſive. I have already (p. 198, &c.) thrown out ſome ideas on this ſubject: and ſhall here offer a few more facts, which appear to ſtrengthen my opinion. [a]

In Arabia, very early, we find the women in high conſideration; and poſſeſſing privileges hardly inferior to thoſe which they enjoy in the moſt enlightened countries of Europe. They had a right, by the laws, to the enjoyment of independent property, by inheritance, by gift, by marriage ſettlement, or by any other mode of acquiſition. The wife had a regular dower, which ſhe was to enjoy in full right after the demiſe of her huſband: and ſhe had alſo a kind of pin-money, or paraphernalia, which ſhe might diſpoſe of in her life-time, or bequeath at her death, without his knowledge or conſent. [b]

To this conſideration and weight, which property, by the laws and cuſtoms of the Arabians, gave to the female ſex, it may even perhaps be no extravagant ſtretch of thought, to trace the ſucceſs, if not the origin, of a religion; which, from the extenſiveneſs of its operations, may be conſidered as one of the

greateſt events in the hiſtory of mankind. Poverty, as Cardinal de Retz juſtly obſerves, is the grave of many a great deſign. And ſo low in circumſtances was Mohammed, in the early part of life, that had it not been for the weight and power which he derived from his marriage with a rich widow, his enthuſiaſm might, perhaps, have juſt exiſted and expired with himſelf. His father Abdallah was a younger ſon of Abdolmotalleb, chief of the Koreiſh tribe; but, dying young, he left Mohammed and his mother, for all their eſtate, only five camels and an Ethiopian ſlave. When he arrived at man's eſtate, his fortune was, of conſequence, ſo humble, that he was recommended by his uncle as factor to the widow Khadijah; who carried on an extenſive trade with Syria and other countries. This lady was of a noble family, and of the ſame tribe. She had been twice married: ſhe had been largely left by both huſbands: and had improved the whole by commerce. Her young factor was eſteemed the handſomeſt man of his age: his genius was quick: and his addreſs inſinuating. She made him her third huſband; and, with her hand, ſhe gave him the diſpoſal of her fortune. Being a man of birth, this raiſed him at once, from a menial ſtation, to a level with the firſt no-

bles of Arabia; and gave him conſequence, independence, and leiſure, ſufficient to prepare the plans for his future greatneſs. It was fifteen years after this marriage before he publicly aſſumed the prophetic character: and he then met with ſuch vigorous oppoſition, particularly from the leading men of his own tribe, that, nearly cruſhed as he often was, he muſt probably have been quite overwhelmed; had not his riches, by increaſing his power, his importance, and his proſelytes, furniſhed him with reſources to overcome difficulties; which might otherwiſe have baffled all the vigour of his genius *.

THE Prophet, at his death, left many widows: four of whom, whilſt they lived, had conſiderable weight in the councils of the Arabs. But the influence of Ayeſha, whom they dignified with the title of *Mother of the Faithful*, was almoſt unbounded. Ali, as ſon-in-law and couſin-german to Mohammed, was generally conſidered as his ſucceſſor: but he had incurred the diſpleaſure of Ayeſha, whom he had once, with many others, accuſed of incontinence: and ſhe never forgave him. Her father Abubeker owed his eleva-

* Mohammed received alſo a large fortune with Ayeſha, the daughter of Abubekre: and a ſtill larger with the widow Hafsa, daughter of Omar.

tion to the Khalifat chiefly to her addreſs. Upon his deceaſe, ſhe ſupported Omar. She was the chief conſpirator againſt Othman, the ſucceſſor of Omar. And when Ali, at length, ſucceeded to the Khalifat, ſhe headed a formidable rebellion againſt him. She took Baſrah; and gave him battle near that place. This famous action is called *Yumu'l'jamal*, the *day of the camel*, from a large white one, upon which ſhe was mounted. She rode through the ranks; and, to animate her troops, ſhe drove into the thickeſt of the battle. Seventy hands, it is ſaid, were ſtruck off, in attempting to ſeize her bridle. And, when the legs of her camel were at length cut off, the carriage in which ſhe ſat reſembled a porcupine, from the number of javelins and arrows with which it was transfixed. The ſuperior generalſhip of Ali prevailed; her army, though more numerous, was routed; and ſhe fell into the hands of the Khalif. When brought before him, he ſaid, "What "doſt thou think of the work of God to "thee?" She anſwered, "Thou haſt con-"quered, O Ali! be merciful." The generous Ali did ſhow her mercy. He ſent her to Medina, attended by ſeventy women in men's apparel *; where ſhe was ordered

* This circumſtance is mentioned in the *Tarikhu'l'meſlemin*; but no reaſon is aſſigned for ſuch an eſcort.

to confine herſelf to her houſe, and to meddle no more in ſtate affairs. On the death of Ali, however, ſhe recovered her influence: and, many years afterwards, when Moawiyah wiſhed to make the Khalifat hereditary in his family, he thought it neceſſary to ſecure her intereſt, by a preſent of bracelets valued at 150,000 dinars, near 70,000 l. [4]

THE Arabian women of rank ſeem indeed to have taken a very active concern both in civil and military affairs. At the battle of Ohod, where Mohammed was defeated by the Pagan Meccans, the reſerve, we find, was led on by Henda, the wife of Abu Sofian, a man of the firſt rank. She was accompanied by fifteen other women of diſtinction; who, with muſic and exhortations, animated the troops. By their ſpirit and reproaches they were repeatedly rallied, when retiring before Mohammed: and by them, in a great meaſure, was the fortune of the day decided. [5]

ONE of the moſt conſiderable of the prophet's oppoſers, was a lady called Forka; who ſeems to have anſwered exactly the deſcription of a feudal peereſs in the middle ages of Europe. She was poſſeſſed of territory, of a caſtle, and of great riches and conſideration. Her troops had checked the inroads of the Prophet's marauding parties;

and Zeid, one of his chief generals, was ſent to reduce her to obedience. The defence of her caſtle was obſtinate: but it was at length taken by ſtorm: and the lady, with part of her garriſon, were killed. Amongſt other captives was Forka's young daughter and heireſs; who, with all her wealth, became the prize of the conqueror. [f]

MANY other examples might be given; but it may be ſufficient, for the preſent ſubject, to obſerve in general, that the dignified behaviour, which diſtinguiſhed the Arabian women, long before and after Mohammed, points clearly to a conſciouſneſs of their own importance: to which an habitual ſlavery and ſubjection could never poſſibly have given birth. [g]

NUMBERLESS inſtances of the conſequence of women might be brought alſo from Perſia, Tartary, and other Eaſtern countries. But I muſt again beg the reader to remember, that the limits of theſe ſketches will not permit me to enter into details; or to preſent to his attention any thing but mere outlines. It is certain, among other privileges, that they poſſeſſed the right of ſucceſſion to the throne; and often acted as regents during the minority of their ſons. Touran dokht and Azurmi dokht, the daughters of Khoſrou

Parviz, were ſucceſſively the reigning queens of Perſia, a few years before the Mohammedan conqueſt.—About the beginning of the tenth century, queen Seidet was regent, during the non-age of her ſon, and governed with much wiſdom. When he took the reins of government, he appointed the famous phyſician Avicenna to be his vizir. But, public affairs being managed with much imprudence, the queen mother, finding herſelf treated with indignity, retired from court; and, raiſing an army, defeated her ſon: whom, nevertheleſs, ſhe reſtored to the throne; and aſſiſted, from that time, with her councils. The kingdom flouriſhed whilſt ſhe lived: but, on her death, the powerful Sultan Mahmoud of Ghezna, who had ever treated her with much reſpect, attacked her diſſipated ſon, and annexed Perſia to his empire.

ACCORDING to Abulgazi Khan, by the ancient laws of the Moguls, a prince could not reign till he was thirty years of age: on which occaſions, the Queen mother acted always as regent. He gives an inſtance, in this place, of a princeſs, named Alanca, (from whom Jengiz Khan derived deſcent) who governed her people, for many years, during the minority of her ſon. Turkhan Khatun, a Tartar lady, mother of Mohammed, Sultan

of Kharezmé, was a princeſs of uncommon abilities, and had ſuch an aſcendancy over her ſon, that ſhe, in a great meaſure, governed the kingdom; which, before the invaſion of Jengiz Khan, was conſidered as the moſt powerful in the Eaſt: and the court the moſt magnificent and polite. Yet ladies of the firſt diſtinction thought it not inconſiſtent with the delicacy of their ſex to take the field againſt the Moguls. They made alſo many ſallies during the ſiege of the capital; which held out, near twelve months, againſt a prodigious army commanded by three of Jenghiz Khan's ſons. And, when it was taken at laſt by aſſault, the inhabitants, male and female, retired, fighting, from houſe to houſe, and from ſtreet to ſtreet; till, according to the loweſt computation, above a hundred thouſand were killed. The ſpirit indeed of the Kharezmian women, has induced ſome writers to conſider them as the deſcendants of the ancient Amazons.*

THE Vizir Nezam gives many inſtances of the political influence of the Women in Eaſtern courts; and is at infinite pains to adviſe his ſon to pay to them the higheſt attention. He divides the court into four claſſes, at the head of which he places the Women: and obſerves, that much of his ſucceſs will depend upon the manner in which he conducts

himſelf towards them. The firſt claſs that claims your notice, ſays he, are the Principal Women: the next, the King's Sons: after them, the Great Omras: and, laſt of all, the Inferior Miniſters.—Altun Taſh, continues the Vizir, was the firſt Omra of the Divan, in the reign of Sultan Mahmoud of Ghezna. When the government of Kharezmé being vacant, he ſolicited the appointment. As he was eſteemed the chief pillar of the throne, the court was ſurprized, that he ſhould have accepted it. And a friend begging of him to know, what could induce him to reſign the power he had over ſo vaſt an empire, to take the charge of a corner: Altun Taſh replied, "By the God who created heaven and earth, "the ſecret which I ſhall now diſcloſe to "you I have not revealed to any living ſoul. "It was the enmity of Jemila Kandahari, "and that only, which made me give up the "power I had over this great empire. For, "many years have the affairs thereof been "under my management: and, in that "time, whatever I tied ſhe unlooſed; and "whatever I unlooſed ſhe tied. What ſhe "reſolved upon I was incapable of oppoſing; "and whatever ſhe oppoſed it was in vain "for me to attempt. Vexed with being con-"tinually foiled, and unable to apply a re-

"medy, the world appeared dark in my "eyes; and I voluntarily threw myſelf into "this retirement, where I truſt in God I "ſhall be ſafe from the effects of her reſent-"ment." We muſt not ſuppoſe, that this female influence was thus powerful in the court of a weak or a diſſipated prince: for Mahmoud was one of the greateſt monarchs that ever reigned: almoſt the whole of his great empire he had conquered himſelf; and it was governed intirely under his own inſpection. Jemila Kandahari, whom I have already mentioned (p. 207.) appears to have been the firſt lady of the bed-chamber to Mahmoud's Sultana: and her reſentment againſt Altun Taſh, was owing to his oppoſition to the Vizir Ahmed Haſſan, whom ſhe patronized. Gallantry, at the ſame time, does not appear to have had any concern in her operations: for Nezam obſerves, that, though her favourite Ahmed correſponded with her often, they did not ſee one another perhaps once in twelve months. [1]

MARRIAGE ſettlements and portions given with daughters, or ſiſters, appear to be of great antiquity in Arabia: for, long before Mohammed, they had refined ſo much upon them, that it became common, where two

men were obliged to give great fortunes with their female relations, to evade payment, by making a double marriage: one eſpouſing the daughter or ſiſter of the other; and giving his daughter or ſiſter in return. This practice, which they called *Shigar*, probably with the view of encouraging alliances among different tribes, or preventing too much wealth from accumulating in particular families, Mohammed declared to be illegal in the Alcoran. —THE ſeparate property, or paraphernalia, which the wife enjoyed, ſeems to have been the produce of ſuch preſents as the bride received from her friends, or from her future huſband, before marriage. Thoſe of the bridegroom, which were called *Nukl*, had no fixed medium; being proportioned to his affection, to his fortune, and often to his oſtentation: for it was cuſtomary to ſend thoſe preſents, a day or two before the nuptials, with great pomp, from his houſe to the dwelling of the bride. And although the whole might have been carried, perhaps with eaſe, by one or two camels, horſes, or ſervants, they would frequently make a proceſſion of ten, twenty, thirty, or more: every one bearing ſomething, ſet off with ornaments, in a gay ſhewy manner.[k]

THEIR marriage ceremonies, in the Eaſt,

ſeem indeed to have been, in all times, attended with much feſtivity and public parade. All the friends of both families aſſembled: and, where the fortune or the vanity of the bridegroom, or of the father of the bride, were conſiderable, they were in general very expenſive. The nuptials of perſons of high rank, were aſtoniſhingly ſplendid. The marriage of the Khalif Almamoun with the daughter of Haſſan Sahal, governor of Babylonian Irak, was attended with almoſt incredible expence. Slaves of both ſexes, with other rich preſents, were ſent by the governor to every grandee. He defrayed the expence of the whole court and of the Khalif's guards, during that prince's reſidence at Fommalſaleh, where Haſſan Sahal generally lived. The roads from thence to Baghdad, for near a hundred miles, were covered with mats of gold and ſilver ſtuff: and the bride's head-dreſs was adorned with a thouſand pearls; each, (if there is no miſtake or exaggeration) of the ſize of a pigeon's egg or of a large nut: which the Khalif immediately ſettled on her, as part of her dower. [1]

Even upon ordinary occaſions it was uſual to throw amongſt the populace, as the proceſſion moved along, money, ſweetmeats, flowers, and other articles; which the people

catched in cloths, made for ſuch occaſions, ſtretched in a particular manner upon frames. With regard to the money, however, there appears often to have been a mixture of œconomy or rather of deception; which probably aroſe from the neceſſity of complying with a cuſtom, that might be ill ſuited to the fortunes of ſome, and to the avarice of others: for we find, that it was not uncommon to collect bad money, called *kelb*, at a low price, to throw away at nuptial proceſſions.*

THE bride, on the day of marriage, was conducted with great ceremony by her friends to her huſband's houſe; and immediately on her arrival, ſhe made him a variety of preſents; eſpecially of houſhold furniture, with a ſpear, and a tent. There ſeems to be a curious ſimilitude, in ſome of thoſe ceremonies, to cuſtoms which prevailed amongſt the old Germans, before they left their foreſts; as well as among the Gothic nations, after they were eſtabliſhed in their conqueſts. Tacitus obſerves, that the German bridegrooms and brides made each other reciprocal preſents; and particularly of arms and cattle. The gifts made to the Eaſtern bride appear likewiſe to have been upon the ſame principles with the *Morgengabe*, or *Morning gift*, which it was common for the European huſ-

band, in the early and middle ages, to preſent to his wife the morning after marriage. And, whilſt the dower, in both, ſeems to have reverted, upon the death of the widow, to the kindred of the huſband, the preſents were left entirely at her own diſpoſal. [n]

A MAN, without the interpoſition of the law, might divorce his wife, provided he paid to her whatever dower had been ſettled by the marriage contract: unleſs he could prove, to the ſatisfaction of her aſſembled friends, that her conduct had given ſufficient cauſe for the ſeparation: in which caſe her fortune and ſettlements were forfeited. The wife had alſo the ſame power of divorce, if ſhe diſliked her huſband: but then ſhe relinquiſhed her ſettlements, and returned all the preſents ſhe had received from him before or after marriage. A man might re-marry his divorced wife, even unto the third time; beyond which it was unlawful. The form of repudiation was very conciſe: the huſband ſaying only, "Get thee gone, I care not for thee." Yet ſimple as it was, they conſidered it as ſo binding, that if a couple lived afterwards together, without the ceremony of a re-marriage, it was reckoned infamous, and viewed in the ſame light as adultery. [o]

TEMPORARY marriages are common in

many parts of the Eaſt. The Arabians call them *Almutah*. The Alcoran ſpeaks rather equivocally with regard to them; which has opened a field for much difference of opinion among the Mohammedan lawyers. About the beginning of the ninth century they were interdicted by the Khalif Almamoun: but they were never entirely diſcontinued; and are now very common. They are contracted by a written indenture, witneſſed by the Cadhi; and a certain ſum is ſettled upon the woman, to be paid to her on the expiry of the term: when the engagement may either be renewed or finally diſſolved. The offspring of ſuch connexions cannot inherit.

A SINGULAR matrimonial cuſtom, we may here remark, ſomewhat reſembling the above, prevailed of old in many parts of Europe. Men of rank, who had loſt their wives, but had children, to avoid burthening their eſtates, might marry low born women; who, bringing no fortune, were intitled to no dower. Theſe contracts (according to Baron von Lowhen) are ſtill prevalent in Germany; where they are ſtiled *Left handed marriages*: it being a part of the ceremony for the bridegroom to give his left hand to the bride. The children of ſuch marriages are not capa-

ble of inheriting; and bear neither the name nor arms of the father. [q]

We find in Scripture, that when a man died, leaving no iſſue by his wife, it was ſometimes incumbent upon his next unmarried brother to eſpouſe the widow. A cuſtom ſimilar to this, is not only found among the Arabians, but another ſtill more ſtrange. For where a father left one or more widows, the ſons often married them, provided they were not their own mothers. This uſage was ſuppreſſed by Mohammed: and it appears, even before his time, to have been marked with a degree of deteſtation: the word *Makt*, which denotes this ſpecies of marriage, ſignifying alſo *hatred* and *enmity*. Marrying a brother's widow, if childleſs, is ſtill cuſtomary in ſome parts of Tartary; particularly in Circaſſia. And Abulgazi Khan mentions ſeveral princes who had married their ſtep-mothers. He ſeems indeed to conſider it as a thing of courſe: and particularly tells us, that Octai Khan married one of the widows of his father Jengiz Khan. But what has moſt ſurprized me, is to find ſo odd a cuſtom prevailing even in Scotland, ſo late as the eleventh century: it being mentioned by Lord Hailes in his Annals; who ſuppoſes, that it might have originated

from avarice, in order to relieve the heir from the payment of a jointure. [r]

An inſtitution, we are informed, was introduced or revived among the Moguls and Tartars by Jengiz Khan, which appears to have been founded on the principles of ſound political wiſdom: two families, though all their children were dead, being permitted to form a matrimonial alliance, by marrying the deceaſed ſon of one to the deceaſed daughter of the other. Theſe nuptials had often moſt ſalutary conſequences; hoſtile tribes having been united by this imaginary tie, when all other means of pacification had failed. And they ſeem even to have viewed it with more ſuperſtitious veneration than if the parties had been alive: conſidering any breach of treaty, after this ideal contract, as drawing upon themſelves the vengeance of the departed ſpirits.—The ancient Perſians, from a notion that married people were peculiarly happy in a future ſtate, uſed often to hire perſons, to be eſpouſed to ſuch of their relations as had died in celibacy. [s]

It may not be quite foreign to the preſent ſubject, to make a few remarks upon ſome peculiarities in the dreſs of Eaſtern women; as even from thence ſome freſh lights may be

thrown upon the female character. In all countries where dreſs has arrived at any degree of refinement, whatever is conſidered as a beauty will generally be imitated by art, where nature has denied her bounty. To this general propenſity we may trace the origin of face-painting, patches, the bolſtering of the petticoats, falſe hair, and the feathered ornaments of the head: all which we diſcover very early in the Eaſt. From the deſcription of Jezebel, and from various other paſſages in the Old Teſtament, we find, that face-painting was then faſhionable among women of rank: and, from theſe words of Jeremiah, (ch. iv. 30.) "Though thou rendeſt thy face "with painting, in vain ſhalt thou make thy-"ſelf fair;" we plainly diſcover, that the Jewiſh women had then carried it to the vicious exceſs, of even rending and diſfiguring their faces, by repeated and intemperate uſe.[t]

[t] The words in Arabic and Perſian, which expreſs painting in all its ſtages, are very numerous. They paint their cheeks and alſo their nails with red; the reſt of the face, the neck, and the arms, with white; and their eyes, in a particular manner, with black, to give them a fine luſtre. Eye-painting, we find, was common in Ezekiel's time, (ch. xxiii. 40.) "Thou didſt waſh thyſelf, paintedſt thine

"eyes, and deckedſt thyſelf with ornaments." The particular colours which the Women of Paleſtine affected, are not mentioned: but, among the Perſians and Arabians, we find not only red, black, and white, but even ſaffron and other yellow waſhes for the face. Their hair they comb with great care; and they highly perfume it with odoriferous unguents or pomatums. Tire-women are much employed: and there are even females, whoſe only buſineſs is to clean, thin, and ſharpen the teeth.

AMONG other faſhions, which may poſſibly have been borrowed from Aſia, are ornamental patches. Black moles on the face have been long conſidered as a ſingular beauty in the Eaſt. We have only to look into the Arabian and Perſian poets for innumerable inſtances of the enthuſiaſm with which they admired this fancied elegance. That the ladies would, of conſequence, uſe every art to imitate a beauty ſo highly prized, is extremely natural: and hence, perhaps, aroſe the faſhion of ſubſtituting imprinted marks, or patches of black ſilk, to counterfeit nature. Upon the ſame principles we may account for the number of words in the Arabic and Perſian languages which ſignify bolſtering or quilting of the petticoats, to give an appearance of that

fine ſwell below the waiſt, which thoſe people eſteem as one of the greateſt elegancies of the female ſhape. Falſe hair is alſo frequently alluded to; and feathers appear to have been more generally worne, than they were even lately by the ladies of England. *

I HAVE now in my poſſeſſion a valuable Eaſtern manuſcript, the property of General Carnac, Governor of Bombay; which he purchaſed when Commander in Chief of the Eaſt India Company's forces in Bengal, for 1000 rupees (125 l.) * It contains extracts from the fineſt authors, eſpecially Perſian: ſome of which are ornamented in the Eaſtern manner, with drawings of the heroes and heroines of their poems. Some of the faces have conſiderable merit: and the dreſs of the Princeſſes, when unveiled, has, in many reſpects, a reſemblance to ſome of the faſhions of Europe. They are often drawn without any head-dreſs: the hair dark; and the ringlets waving down over their neck and ſhoulders. They have frequently round their heads a kind of diadem,

* I embrace this public opportunity of expreſſing my ſenſe of various marks of politeneſs which I have received from General Carnac; and particularly the obliging manner in which he offered me the unlimited uſe of a moſt valuable collection of Eaſtern manuſcripts.

ſet with precious ſtones; from which riſe one or more tufts of feathers: the quills of which are ſet in ſockets of gold and gems. Sometimes they have a ſhort ſtubbed appearance; and ſometimes they are long, and flow gracefully backwards. They wear ſometimes noſe-jewels, which thoſe who have not been accuſtomed to them can never think a beauty. They have alſo ear-rings, not only in the lob, but in the upper part of the ear. Their neck-laces conſiſt of many rows of jewels, the loweſt of which hang down over the boſom. Their dreſs, in general, when the upper garment is laid aſide, is fitted exactly to the ſhape; and ſeems nearly to reſemble what, I believe, is called a Jeſuit; buttoning down the breaſt, covering the neck pretty high, and the arms down to the wriſts. There is ſometimes a large ſquare jewel on the fore part of the arm, a little below the ſhoulder. Their girdles are very broad, generally made of fine leather; and covered entirely over with embroidery and gems. Their robes are long and flowing behind: and their ancles are often encircled with a ring of gold, ornamented with jewels. Upon their head they wear ſometimes a low-crowned cap, terminating in a point, round which they wreathe ſeveral folds of fine linen or ſilk; to the top of which, when they go abroad, they

faſten, with a gold bodkin, a veil which covers the face and a great part of the body. There are few of the female faces which have not one or two black moles or artificial marks; which the Perſians name *Khal*, and the Arabians *Ulteh*.—Women of inferior rank, who cannot purchaſe jewels, make their necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments, of ſmall ſhells, or beads of different coloured glaſs. [x]

It may be obſerved, before we finiſh this article of dreſs, that face and eye-painting are alſo in uſe among the men; who pay the ſame attention to their beards, which the women pay to their hair. They perfume them highly, and often tinge them; ſometimes of a fine red, ſometimes with ſaffron, and with various other dyes. Red was the favourite colour of Mohammed, Abubeker, or Omar: and their example was greatly followed. [y]

SECT. III.

Of the Paſſive Obedience of Aſiatics. The diſtinguiſhing manners of the Eaſt and Weſt not always attended to by the learned. Mr. Bryant's criticiſm, on this head, conſidered. Implicit ſubmiſſion of the Carmathians to their chiefs. And of the Aſſaſſins or ſubjects of the Old Man of the Mountain.

THAT ſteady ſyſtem of conſtitutional government, founded upon laws, which, whilſt it gives to the monarch a ſolid dignity, points out to the ſubject the happy medium between rational obedience and abject ſubmiſſion, has, in all times, been imperfectly known in the Eaſt. There the deſpotiſm of the prince, checked only by the momentary and deſultory reſiſtance of the people, alternately curbs and unreins the ſpirit: and places the Aſiatic character in lights ſo oppoſite, that we muſt not be ſurprized to find a ſingular mixture of ſlaviſhneſs and freedom in the deſcription of the ſame people.

A PROPER attention to diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics is not, however, always to be found in the remarks of the learned. They too often decide with precipitation. They form their ideas of Aſiatic objects by the ſtandard alone of ancient and modern Europe; and treat perhaps rather too lightly whatever is foreign to their own line of obſervation. It is with pain that I find myſelf under the neceſſity of bringing this obſervation home to Mr. Bryant; and of differing ſo often and ſo pointedly from a gentleman, whoſe erudition, opportunities, and ingenuity, *properly directed*, might have greatly extended our knowledge, and happily guided our reſearches into the darker periods of the hiſtory of man. But, wedded, with ſome ſuperſtition, to one language, and to one ſet of writers, he looks proudly down upon all ſcience, without his own pale; and conſiders facts, perfectly conſiſtent with Eaſtern manners, as preciſely on a level with the Tales of Mother Gooſe.

To illuſtrate the oppoſite ſenſes of the ſame words, in different dialects of Arabia, I had introduced into my Diſſertation (p. 5.) a ſhort anecdote of the King of Arabia Felix and an envoy. This has given Mr. Bryant field for a pretty diſplay of humour. He has embelliſhed my ſimple tale with a very facetious

counterpart. And as it may poſſibly amuſe the reader, to avoid doing him injuſtice by any attempt to abridge it, I ſhall throw the whole into the notes *. [c]

* "The ſtory, p. v. concerning the envoy, who was ſent to the Tobba of Arabia, is equally extraordinary and entertaining. The prince, it ſeems, upon the envoy being introduced, ſaid to him, T'heb, *be ſeated.* But this, in the dialect of the perſon ſpoken to, unluckily ſignified—*precipitate yourſelf:* which proved an unfortunate circumſtance. For the poor envoy, *with a ſingular deference for the orders of his ſovereign*, went and threw himſelf from the wall of the caſtle, and broke his neck. Now the commands of princes ought without doubt to be heeded: yet I believe in this caſe few would have ſhewn ſuch *ſingular deference* at ſo ſudden warning. One ſhould think, that a perſon would have heſitated a little, and have made ſome ſmall inquiry before he had ventured all for nothing. In later times a ſenſible man may have ſhewn a miſtaken regard; and have been led into an errour: but hardly into one ſo fatal, as that mentioned above, However there have been facts ſomewhat ſimilar: and as nothing ſets off a hiſtory to ſuch advantage, as its parallel, accept what follows by way of illuſtration: for the preciſe truth of which I will not vouch: but give it you as I receive it. The perſon concerned is ſuppoſed to have been, like the man above, an envoy: one, who reſided here in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: but of what country is not ſaid: though from his great politeneſs ſome judgment may perhaps be formed. He is repreſented as very infirm, and gouty: and at the ſame time troubled with a painful retention. The MSS.

It is a happy talent, we muſt confeſs, to trifle gracefully. Yet how few poſſeſs it! Below indeed we find a vein of pleaſantry, which we do not diſcover every where. And, as my poor ſtory has happily breathed this vein, it would be wrong to regret the inſertion of it, were it even irreconcileable with hiſtory and manners. It happens, however, not only to be recorded by many Aſiatic writers, as well as by D'Herbelot, Sale, and other European Orientaliſts; but is in ſuch perfect conformity with that enthuſiaſtic deference, which people have been known, even in later times, to pay to the moſt dreadful

in which he is mentioned, deſcribes him in the following manner. *He was a very aged, and a very coſtive Lord: and ſo marred in his knees and in his ancles with the gout, that he could ſcant ſtond. One day, when he was in Privy Chamber, the Queen's Majeſtie noting his infirmities, ſayd unto him: Good my Lord, I wiſh, that you could procure yourſelf a ſtool. He not truly apprehending her Grace's meaning through default of language, but thinking of his private malady, went incontinent home: and took ſo many laxatives, enemas, and cathartics, that he was well nigh killed. And though they gave him Hippocraſs, and many cordial apozems, yet from Allhallowtide to Saint Swithin his bowels were like a bladder. Nor did they recover themſelves in a year, they were ſo angered and aggrieved.* Whatever miſtake may have been made, we ſee here the utmoſt complaiſance: and this too, let me tell you, in very critical circumſtances. Nothing

commands of their chiefs; that, were the beſt facts, which ſupport the learned gentleman's *Cuthite Syſtem*, but half as well grounded, his caſtle's ſtrength might laugh a ſiege to ſcorn. [4]

I SHALL mention a few examples. The Carmathians were a powerful Sect of Arabian Schiſmatics; who began to appear towards the end of the ninth century; and, before the concluſion of the following, had made themſelves maſters of ſome of the fineſt provinces of Babylonian Irak. About the year 930, after ravaging the territory of Mecca, plundering the city, defiling the temple, and deſtroying near 40,000 people; their prince,

could be more proper, than the regard ſhewn to the ſuppoſed good wiſhes of a princeſs; whoſe wiſhes were eſteemed equal to commands. But I muſt confeſs, when a regard of this ſort is extended to hanging or drowning, or to breaking one's neck, it ſeems to be carried rather too far. And whatever ſenſe of duty a perſon may entertain, yet I ſhould imagine, that he would think twice, before he implicitly obeyed: for a leap down a precipice is no jeſting matter. In good truth, if I may be allowed to ſpeak freely, hiſtories of this ſort are very little ſuperior to thoſe of that reſpectable lady, Mother Gooſe. On this account, I ſhould imagine, that in your future publications they had better be omitted, leſt the Perſians ſhould be eſteemed as great fablers as the Greeks."

Abu Thaher, had the boldneſs to appear before Baghdad with only 500 horſe. The Khalif's general marched out to ſeize him at the head of 30,000 men: but before he attacked him, he ſent an officer to ſummon him to ſurrender. "How many men has "the Khalif's general?" ſays Abu Thaher. "Thirty thouſand," anſwers the officer. "Amongſt them all," returns the Carmathian chief, "has he got three like "mine?" Ordering his followers then to approach, he commanded one to ſtab himſelf, a ſecond to throw himſelf from an eminence, and a third to leap into the Tigris. He was inſtantly obeyed, and all of them periſhed. Then turning to the officer; "He that has "ſuch troops values not the number of his "enemies." And indeed thoſe determined men, ſurprized that night the Khalif's army; who, over confident in their numbers, kept no guard, and obſerved no precautions. Numbers were ſlain; the reſt diſperſed; and the General falling alive into the hands of Abu Thaher, he chained him amongſt his dogs.

THERE is not a hiſtorian of the Cruzades, European, or Aſiatic, who does not mention the *Sheikhu'l'jebel*, or the *Old Man of the Mountain*. This was a name given to a dy-

naſty of Princes, who reigned in Perſian Irak from about the year 1090 till 1255. The ſubjects of thoſe chiefs were ſo entirely devoted to them, that they put themſelves to death, like the Carmathians, without the leaſt heſitation: an inſtance of which, ſimilar to the former, is related by ſeveral Mohammedan writers. When *Haſſan Sabah* *, the founder of this dynaſty, had become formidable, the Sultan Malekſhah Jelaleddin, Emiru'l'omra to the Khalif of Baghdad, ſent an embaſſador to require his ſubmiſſion. Haſſan, without making an immediate reply, deſired one of his attendants to poignard himſelf; and another to leap from the battlements of the tower. He was immediately obeyed: when turning to the embaſſador, "Seventy "thouſand are thus attentive to my com-"mands. Let this be my anſwer." [f]

THESE chiefs, from the devoted enthuſiaſm of their followers, became the terror of all the neighbouring princes; whom they laid under contribution: for death was generally the conſequence of their diſpleaſure. Their ſubjects would aſſume any diſguiſe, and penetrate into any place, fearleſs of the con-

* From the name of *Haſſan*, it is poſſible the word *Aſſaſſin* may be derived.

ſequences, provided they could ſucceed in the murder they were ſent to execute. Amongſt many great men who fell by theſe aſſaſſins, were Amer Billah Khalif of Egypt, Moſtarſhed Khalif of Baghdad, and the Vizir Nezam ul Mulk, whom I have ſo often mentioned. The great Saladin very narrowly eſcaped. He was attacked by three of them in his tent, and was wounded; but having great ſtrength of arm, he ſeized them, and, calling to his guards, they were ſoon diſpatched. [s]

THE murder of the Marquis of Montferrat, by two of thoſe men, makes a great figure in the hiſtory of the Cruzades. They had diſguiſed themſelves like Chriſtian Monks, and ſtabbed him in the ſtreets of Tyre, when returning from dining with the Biſhop of Beauvais. They were immediately ſeized; and put to the moſt excruciating torture: but they ſuffered death without making any confeſſion. As our Richard I. was then at open variance with the Marquis, the ſuſpicion of many of the Princes of the Cruzade fell heavy upon him; which reaching the ears of the Old Man of the Mountain, he addreſſed the following curious letter to Leopold Duke of Auſtria. [t]

To Leopold Duke of Auſtria, the Ancient of the Mountain *wiſheth health.*

"SINCE many kings and princes beyond "ſeas, blame Richard King and Lord of "England, concerning the death of the Mar- "quis of Montferrat, I ſwear by the eternal "God, and by the law which we hold, that "Richard is no way to blame in this reſpect, "and that the death of the Marquis hap- "pened as follows.

"ONE of our brotherhood was coming in "a ſhip from Saltelia to our territories, and "happened to be forced into Tyre in a ſtorm. "Upon this, the Marquis ordered him to be "put to death, and then he ſeized all his "money. Thereupon we ſent our ambaſſa- "dors to the Marquis, with orders to de- "mand the money of our brother, and ſa- "tisfaction for his death, which he laid upon "Reginald the prince of Sidon; whereas we "had informed ourſelves by friends, whom "we could truſt, that the Marquis himſelf "had ordered the murder to be committed, "and the money to be taken away.

"WE therefore ſent another ambaſſador, "and him he was going to throw into the "ſea; but our friends hurrying him out of "Tyre, he came back to us in all haſte, and

" told us how he had been treated. We, " from that hour, determined to kill the " Marquis, and we ſent two of our bre- " thren, for that purpoſe, to Tyre, who " killed him openly, almoſt in the ſight of " all the people of that city.

" SUCH were our motives for the death of " the Marquis: and we aſſure you, with " great truth, that Richard king of Eng- " land, was no ways blameable for the death " of that Marquis; and they who have done " harm to Richard on that account, do it " without juſtice, and without reaſon.

" BE aſſured, we will kill no man, in this " world, for reward, or for money, unleſs " he firſt injure us."

THE examples which might be brought of the deſperate obedience of thoſe men are innumerable. Almoſt every Eaſtern potentate, in ſelf-preſervation, found himſelf under the neceſſity of making magnificent preſents to the Sheikhu'l'jebel. The knights Hoſpitallers and Templars alone ſet him at defiance; and even compelled him in turn to pay to them an annual tribute: for he well knew, that thoſe republican orders could never want a head; and that the aſſaſſination of one or more Grand Maſters might ſerve only to ex-

aſperate, without weakening, thoſe formidable bodies.

YET it may be obſerved, that the importance of thoſe princes could never have reſted alone upon their own ſtrength. Devoted and fearleſs as their ſubjects might be, the power of many of the neighbouring potentates could ſoon have cruſhed them. But their private views, jealouſies and reſentments, ſeem to have operated with them in a manner nearly ſimilar to that which has long actuated the ſtates of Europe; and given a conſequence to the Barbary pirates, to which their own force alone could never have afforded them the leaſt pretenſions. Even Saladin, who, in revenge for their attempt upon his life, laid waſte the country, and demoliſhed the capital of the aſſaſſins, was induced, from ſome perſonal conſideration, not only to pardon, but even to protect them. And they ſubſiſted with more or leſs power, till the year 1255, when they were exterminated by the Tartar prince Houlagou, grandſon of Jengiz Khan. A few, however, who had been trained up in the trade of murder, eſcaped the general ruin *:

* Some of the Aſſaſſins, who fled from the ſword of Houlagou, eſtabliſhed themſelves in the province of Mazenderan on the Caſpian ſea; where they were deſtroyed by Tamerlane towards the end of the fourteenth century.

for in the year 1271, our Edward I. who had taken the croſs whilſt heir-apparent, was dangerouſly wounded by one of thoſe wretches in his own apartments at Acon. The aſſaſſin, it was ſuppoſed, had been hired by the Mohammedan governor of Joppa, by whom he was ſent to Edward, under pretence of negociating a truce: in conſequence of which, having free acceſs to the Prince's perſon, he ſuddenly aſſaulted him, and ſtabbed him on the ſhoulder: but Edward grappling with the villain, threw him down, and diſpatched him with his own dagger. [k]

THESE few facts, of undoubted authority, will, I flatter myſelf, bring ſufficiently within the line of probability The Miſtaken Obedience of the Arabian Envoy: and ſatisfy, at the ſame time, the learned critic, that Epictetus was right, when he ſaid, that every thing had two handles: one, by which it might be held; the other, by which it could not. Now, though the facetious gentleman has ſhown us, that he underſtands perfectly well, *riſu quatere populum*; yet as he poſſeſſes alſo the happy talent of ſometimes agreeably miſtaking the right handle, the old philoſopher's advice might perhaps be worth attending to, Γελως μη πολυς εςω, μηδε επι πολλοις, μηδε ανειμενος —ολισθηρος γαρ ὁ τροπος εις ιδιωτισμον. [l]

SECT. IV.

Freedom of ſpeech in the Eaſt. Inſtances of the deference of Aſiatic princes to the complaints of their humbleſt ſubjects. Anecdote of Sultan Mahmoud. Deſtruction of a gang of dangerous banditti. Anecdotes of the Khalif Haron Arraſhid. The barbarity of this prince to his ſiſter and Vizir. The undaunted grateſulneſs of an old man. Anecdotes of Hejjaje, an Arabian governor. Veneration for ideots in the Eaſt. Probable origin of Royal Jeſters.

THOUGH the ſyſtem of Eaſtern government veſts, too often, the almoſt unlimited uſe and abuſe of power, in the hands of men, whoſe frantic caprice is a dreadful ſatire upon human nature; we, nevertheleſs, frequently diſcover, among the princes of Aſia, not only an uncommon deference to the complaints of their ſubjects; but many inſtances where the moſt ferocious tyrants have borne, without reſentment, the ſe-

vereſt truths and the keenneſt ſarcaſms, when delivered with a bold ſpirit and a ready wit. As a kind of counterpart to the preceding ſection, I ſhall conclude this chapter, with a few miſcellaneous anecdotes on this head, without much attention to connection of ſubject, or chronological order.

THE great deſert of Naubendigan, which ſtretches between Perſia Proper and Khoraſſan, had long been infeſted by banditti, who robbed the Caravans, and murdered the merchants. About the beginning of the eleventh century, ſoon after Perſia had been conquered by Mahmoud, Sultan of Ghezna, a Caravan was plundered; and, amongſt thoſe who fell, was the ſon of a widow. The poor woman immediately ſet out for Ghezna, and demanded juſtice of the Sultan for the life of her ſon. Mahmoud heard her complaint with attention; and then told her, that Irac being far removed from his ſeat of government, it was impoſſible to remedy every diſorder which might happen at ſuch a diſtance. "Why "then, ſays the widow, doſt thou conquer "more than thou canſt govern? Will not "an account of this be required of thee at "the day of judgment?" Struck with the juſtice of the widow's reply, Mahmoud was

not offended. He made her, on the contrary, rich preſents, and promiſed her ſpeedy juſtice. He haſtened immediately to Iſphahan, and iſſued a proclamation, promiſing ſecurity, in perſon and property, to all travellers through the deſert. Many merchants flocked, in conſequence, to Iſphahan: but when the caravan was ready to depart, they were ſurprized to find only a hundred ſoldiers appointed for their guard. They repreſented to the King, that the robbers were ſo numerous and ſo bold, that a thouſand would be quite inſufficient. He knew however the meaſures he had taken, and deſired them to depart, with aſſurance of perfect ſafety. The Sultan had, in the mean time, privately ordered a number of hampers of moſt choice fruits to be poiſoned, and gave orders to the commander of the guard to halt in a certain place, where the banditti generally made their attack; and there to unload the fruits, under pretence of drying them in the ſun. This was done: and the robbers ſoon appearing, the guard, as they were ordered, fled. As nothing, in thoſe ſcorching deſerts, could be more tempting than ſuch cool and delicious fruits, the thieves knowing that the caravan might be ſoon overtaken, allowed them to move on; and devoured the fruits, with ſo little moderation

or caution, that, before they could diſcover the poiſon, it began to operate; and all of them periſhed on the ſpot.

The Khalif Haron Arraſhid was accoſted one day by a poor woman, who complained, that his ſoldiers had pillaged her houſe, and laid waſte her grounds. The Khalif deſired her to recollect the words of the Alcoran, "That when princes go forth to battle, the "people through whoſe fields they paſs muſt "ſuffer."—"Yes, ſays the woman; but it "is alſo written in the ſame book, that the "habitations of thoſe princes, who autho-"rize injuſtice, ſhall be made deſolate." This bold and juſt reply had a powerful effect upon the Khalif; who ordered immediate and ample reparation to be made.

Arrashid was undoubtedly one of the greateſt princes that ever reigned; and his temper was in general merciful and generous. But one action of dreadful and unrelenting cruelty muſt ever remain an indelible ſtain upon his memory. Giaffar his Vizir, of the noble family of Bermeki, was eſteemed the moſt eloquent orator, the beſt writer, and the fineſt gentleman in the empire. The Khalif delighted in his company, and made him a partner in all the amuſements

of his leiſure hours. That prince had, at the ſame time, an amiable and accompliſhed ſiſter named Abaſſa; in whoſe converſation he took alſo uncommon pleaſure. The company of his favourites, the Khalif wiſhed to enjoy together. But this the etiquette of Eaſtern courts denied; as nothing but an alliance with the royal family could give Giaffar the privilege of entering the inner apartments. To remove this obſtacle, Arraſhid had recourſe to a ſingular expedient. He gave Abaſſa to Giaffar in marriage, but ſtrictly enjoined him never to approach her but in his preſence. Under this painful reſtraint they for ſome time lived. But nature at length proved too powerful for the Khalif's commands. They deceived his vigilance: and Abaſſa became with child. She was delivered without diſcovery: but, being betrayed by a female ſlave, ſhe was driven, with ignominy, from the royal palace; and reduced to wander, in the moſt wretched attire, to beg the precarious charity of the meaneſt ſubject of her ſtern and unrelenting brother. Giaffar was beheaded. His family, his dependents, his domeſtics, were impriſoned, butchered, and proſcribed: and death was denounced againſt every perſon, who even dared to mention the family name. Yet, ſuch was the veneration in

which the generous Bermicedes had been held by all ranks, that, abſolute as the Khalif was, his commands were here diſregarded. An old man in particular, named Mondir, who, during their proſperity, had received from them many favours, went every day to the deſerted dwelling of the unhappy Giaffar; where, from a mound of ruins, he expatiated to thouſands of grateful hearers, on the virtues and beneficence of thoſe illuſtrious men. The Khalif, in a rage, ordered at laſt Mondir to be brought before him, and condemned him to inſtant death. The old man did not complain of the ſentence: he begged only to ſpeak a few words before he died. The Khalif conſented: when Mondir made no apology; he promiſed no change of ſentiments; and he aſked not for mercy. But he enlarged upon the benevolence of thoſe unfortunate noblemen, with ſuch pathetic eloquence, that even the Khalif was touched at length; and he not only pardoned the old man, but gave him a golden plate, which was placed before him: on receiving of which, Mondir, proſtrating himſelf before the Khalif, "Behold, ſays he, even in this, a "new favour from the noble Bermicedes."

HEJJAJE was an Arabian of diſtinction,

remarkable for military abilities, eloquence, and cruelty. He was governor of Arabia and of Babylonian Irak, towards the end of the ſeventh century: and he ruled with almoſt independent power. So great was his ſeverity, that he is ſaid to have put to death 120,000 people; and to have had 50,000 more in his priſons when he died. Yet many ſtories are told of him, which, tyrant as he was, ſhew that he could eaſily forgive a freedom of ſpeech, if accompanied with ſpirit, naivété, or wit. Having loſt his attendants one day at the chace, he met an Arab paſturing his camels, and begged of him a little water. "If you want water, ſaid the Arab ſurlily, "draw it for yourſelf; for I am neither your "companion nor your ſlave." The governor accordingly alighted; and having ſatisfied his thirſt, entered into converſation with a man, whoſe humour he thought ſingular. Among other queſtions, he aſked him what opinion he entertained of the Khalif. "I think, ſays "the Arab, that he is a very wicked prince." —"Why?"—"Becauſe he has ſent us "Hejjaje, the moſt execrable governor under "heaven." The governor was ſilent; but, his attendants ſoon after appearing, he ordered them to bring the Arab along with them. Next day he ſeated him with him at

table, and desired him to eat freely. "God "send, says the Arab, the end of the repast "may be no worse than the beginning."— "Do you recollect, says the governor, what "you said yesterday?"—"Yes, yes, replies "the Arab, May God prosper you in all "things; but as for the secret of yesterday, "take you good care not to divulge it to "day."—"Well then I will not; but of "two things you must chuse: either to ac- "knowledge me as your master, and I will "retain you in my service; or I will send "you to the Khalif, and inform him of your "speech."—"There is a third course, re- "joins the Arab, which is worth them "both."—"What is that?"—"Send me "home, and pray God, that we may never "see one another more." The governor smiled at the blunt humour of the man; and dismissed him agreeable to his wish, with a present of a thousand dirhems. — Informers having told Hejjaje, that Ziad, a man of rank, had publicly and vehemently exclaimed against his proceedings, he immediately ordered him to be seized; and demanded whether he had not, in a certain garden, wished that God might turn his face black, that his head were struck off, and his blood spilt. "Those, says Ziad, who have repeated my

" words, have been very exact: but they " ſhould have told you alſo, that I was then " under an arbor, admiring ſome excellent " grapes, which were not ripe: ſo I wiſhed " them inſtantly black in the face, that I " might cut off their heads, and ſhed the " blood of the vine." The ingenuity of the turn, ſo much pleaſed the governor, that, inſtead of dooming him to death, as he purpoſed, he took him immediately into favour. —Having quelled a rebellion, the governor had ordered the chiefs to be put to the ſword; when one of them cried out, " Hejjaje, I " appeal to your juſtice."— " Upon what " ground?"—" Our general having one day " reviled you, I told him he did wrong."— " Have you any witneſs of this?" — " I " have," pointing to one of his condemned companions.—" Is it true?" ſays the governor, addreſſing himſelf to the officer appealed to.—" It is," replied he.—" And why did " not you do as much as that man?"— " Becauſe, returned he fiercely, you were mine " enemy."—Hejjaje, inſtead of reſenting this boldneſs, pardoned both: the one, to acknowledge the obligation: the other, for the undauntedneſs with which he had ſpoken the truth.—The rigour of this governor, whoſe humour was in general his only rule of con-

duct, is ſufficiently evident from the numbers he deſtroyed: and it is difficult to read the hiſtory of ſuch men, without execrating a ſyſtem of government, which could thus expoſe the lives and properties of ſubjects, unprotected by fixed laws, to the wanton phrenzy of an unfeeling deſpot. Yet the manners of the times may furniſh, perhaps, ſome apology for barbarites which ſtrike the humane with horror. Hear, upon this head, the ſentiments of this haughty chief. Loud complaints having gone abroad of his violence, he aſſembled the people; and, mounting his tribunal, he thus harangued them: "God has now given me dominion over you. "If I exerciſe it with ſeverity, think not, "when I am gone, that your condition will "be mended. As you live, you ought ever "to be cruſhed: for God has many ſervants: "and, when I am no more, another will "come, who may execute his orders ſtill "more ſternly. If you wiſh your governors "to be moderate and merciful, be ye juſt, "and obey their commands. Your own con-"duct muſt be the baſis of your good or bad "treatment. A prince may be compared to "a mirror. All that is ſeen in him is mere-"ly the reflexion of ſurrounding objects. If

"you are virtuous, he will be mild. If you "are corrupted, he muſt be a ſcourge." *

TAMERLANE, whoſe common ſaying it was, that a ſovereign could never be ſafe upon his throne, unleſs it was ſurrounded with blood: who could, with indifference, make pyramids of heads; and bake thouſands alive in a mud pye, or pound them in a mortar: this Tamerlane could yet liſten, without reſentment, to the raillery of poets, the cenſure of the learned, and the perſonal inſults of real or pretended fools. To the circumſtances which I have mentioned in the former part of this diſſertation (p. 192, &c.) many might be added: but I ſhall only now obſerve, that the ſuperſtitious reſpect which Eaſtern people have entertained for ideots, is wonderful. Their ſayings have been conſidered as bordering upon inſpiration; and, in this idea, they have been indulged with an uncommon freedom of ſatirical licence. This ſingular degree of veneration which has been ſhewn for natural ideots, might often, we may eaſily believe, induce artful men to counterfeit folly; either to advance their fortunes, or, to give them the power of ſpeaking freely their ſentiments, with impunity. And, to this cauſe, I think, it is not unnatural to trace the ori-

gin of Royal Jeſters. At what period the King's fool was introduced into European courts, it is not material at preſent to enquire: but we find him in the Eaſt in the eighth century; and he was probably much older. At the court of the Khalif Arraſhid there was one named Bahalul Almejnoun; ſome of whoſe ſayings have been preſerved. He appears to have poſſeſſed vivacity, wit, and obſervation; and he was permitted to take every kind of licence with the Khalif and his courtiers. "I wiſh, ſays Arraſhid to him "one day, you could procure me a liſt of all "the fools in Baghdad."—"That would be "difficult, Commander of the Faithful; but "if you deſire to know the wiſe men, the "catalogue may be ſoon completed."—A courtier telling him, that the Khalif had given him the charge of all the bears, wolves, foxes, and monkeys in his dominions; "The "Commander of the Faithful has given me "then a very extenſive charge: for it com-"prehends his whole empire; and you are "one of my ſubjects."—Entering one day into the preſence-chamber, and finding the throne empty, he ſeated himſelf on it: when the officers in waiting perceiving him, pulled him down, and baſtinadoed him out of the hall. Bahalul fell a-crying; and the Khalif,

ſoon after appearing, enquired into the matter. The officers told him, that it was on account of a few blows he had received for his inſolence. "No, ſays the fool, my complainings ariſe not from the blows: they "are cauſed by my compaſſion for the Commander of the Faithful: for if I have received ſo many baſtinadoes for ſitting upon "that throne but for one minute in my life, "how many ſhould he endure, who mounts "it every day?" [f]

A REAL or affected fool, during the reign of this prince, had the preſumption to call himſelf God Almighty. The Khalif thinking him an impoſtor, ordered him to be brought before him; and, that he might diſcover the truth, he ſaid to him; "A fellow "the other day, who aſſumed the manners "of an ideot, pretended to be a prophet of "God. I had him immediately tried, when "his impoſture appearing evident, I commanded his head to be ſtruck off."—"You "did right, replied the fool, and like a faithful ſervant of mine; for I never gave that "fellow a commiſſion to be my prophet." The ready coolneſs of the anſwer left the Khalif at a loſs how to decide: he inclined therefore to the merciful ſide: and the fool was diſmiſſed. [g]

When Mahmoud Sultan of Ghezna conquered India, he had diſtreſſed the people greatly by plundering, as well as by the contributions and taxes which he impoſed. Whilſt he was one day ſitting in his Divan, in converſation with his nobles, a fool wandered into the hall; and, ſtaring wildly around, ſpoke much to himſelf, but took no particular notice of any perſon. The prince obſerving him, deſired his officers to aſk him what he wanted. He ſaid, that he was hungry; and wiſhed, of all things, to eat a roaſted ſheep's tail. The Sultan, in a frolic, ordered them to cauſe a particular kind of radiſh to be roaſted, much reſembling in ſhape thoſe tails, which in ſeveral Eaſtern countries are very fat, and of an extraordinary ſize. It was accordingly preſented to the fool, who devoured it voraciouſly. The Sultan then aſked him, how he liked it: to which he anſwered, "That it "was exceedingly well dreſſed; but he could "eaſily perceive, that, under his government, "the ſheeps tails had no longer the fatneſs, "nor the excellent flavour, for which they "were famous in former times."—Mahmoud felt the poignancy of the anſwer; and gave immediate orders to relieve the people of many burthens under which they groaned. Eccentric ſayings indeed from eccentric men,

we ſhall often find, will more powerfully influence a haughty prince, than the moſt ſerious remonſtrances of his miniſters, or the loudeſt murmurings of his people. [h]

THE bounds of my volume, and an attention to more important engagements, make me here take leave of theſe ſubjects; which to ſome indeed may poſſibly appear trifling. Yet, from ſuch ſlight obſervances, we ſhall often judge more truly of the genius of a people, than from more ſolid objects: for, as Selden juſtly remarks, if we throw a ſtraw into the air, we may eaſily ſee how the wind ſits; which we ſhall not do by caſting up a ſtone. [i]

CHAPTER II.

SECT. I.

Reaſons for the Remarks in the preceding ſheets. Introduction to a further examination of Mr. Bryant's Mythology.

IT was an excellent maxim, which Lord Bacon, Mr. Boyle, and other philoſophers ſucceſsfully adopted, not only to promote ſcience by experiments and other modes of convincing proof; but to throw out conjectures upon ſuch ſpeculative points, as they had not ſufficient opportunities or leiſure to inveſtigate fully: with the view that thoſe conjectures, properly purſued by men of reflexion, might lead in time to ſome important diſcovery. †

† To ſome obſcure hints upon *Attraction*, thrown out by Lord Bacon, the world is, in a great meaſure, indebted for the great *Newtonian Syſtem*.

It was in imitation of thoſe great men, that I have, in the preceding ſheets, hazarded ſome looſe thoughts on ſeveral ſubjects, which to me appeared to be either new, or capable of being placed in a new light. If founded even on miſtake, I apprehended they could do no harm: but, if conſiſtent with reaſon, they might tend to ſome improvement. As ſketches only they were deſigned; and merely as ſuch I wiſh them to be conſidered. The variety of topics, upon which I have touched, and the limits to which I was neceſſarily confined, were by no means calculated for deep criticiſm, or extenſive enquiry. Such indeed was never my intention. My abilities, a few weeks, and a few pages, could not allow me to entertain the idea. My chief object was to aſſiſt ſtudents in Eaſtern tongues, with ſuch remarks as came within my line of obſervation: my next, to remove, if I could, the prejudices of the learned, by pointing to lights, which Eaſtern erudition, judiciouſly applied, might poſſibly throw upon many branches of uſeful knowledge.

But I ſoon perceived, that this ſecondary object could not ſuddenly meet with ſucceſs. I diſcovered, that there were faſhions in literature, as well as faſhions in dreſs: that ſome led the taſte: that many followed implicitly

their opinions: and that few cared to be ſingularly conſpicuous in deviating from the received mode. When a writer high in the *ton* pronounces boldly his opinion, it becomes immediately a kind of watch-word. It flies wide abroad: the echo reverberates from every quarter: and, as a polite writer * juſtly obſerves, "A lucky word in a verſe, which "ſounds well, and every body gets by heart, "goes further than a volume of juſt criti-"ciſm." Boileau happened to ſay ſomething of the *Clinquant* of *Taſſo* and of *Virgil's gold*; and the magic of the line overturned at once the ſolid and well built reputation of the Italian poets. [c]

Now, though I cannot find out, how the excellence of one claſs of writers can be injured by the excellence of another; yet the bare ſuſpicion of merit in Eaſtern authors ſeems to be viewed as high treaſon againſt the majeſty of Grecian learning. The courtly writer of the *New Syſtem of Ancient Mythology* has ſaid, that it is in vain to look into them for information: he has likened their hiſtories to the Tales of Mother Gooſe §: he has

* Dr. Hurd, Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry, on Chivalry and Romance, p. 84.

§ This watch-word has already got abroad. See what

adopted the maxim, *De railler d'un plaiſant qui ne ſait pas nous plaire:* and, with nearly the ſame knowledge of thoſe writers, which another ingenious gentleman had of Strabo and Plutarch, he ſeems to ſing, with him,

Your Straw-boys, and Blue-turks, and ſuch ſort of ſtuff!
Egad, I don't value them one pinch of ſnuff.

Peremptory indeed are the deciſions of this learned gentleman, upon every ground. But as I have of late ſeen much reaſon to ſuſpect mere aſſertions; and to think, that an undiſtinguiſhing deference for high authorities has ever tended to propagate error, to damp diſcovery, and to check improvement in every ſcience: I have freely differed from him, and from many able men; wherever I have ſeen cauſe, or found arguments to ſupport my opinions. [d]

To counteract, in ſome meaſure, the *Clinquant* of ſo great a writer, I had, in the for-

it is to be a writer of *ton!* The authors of the Gentleman's Magazine for May 1778, after a ſhort but polite review of my Diſſertation, come in upon me at the end with — "As to the marvellous ſtories he relates, they ſeem truly "Perſian or Arabian tales; and, to ſpeak freely, (as Mr. "Bryant ſays) are very little ſuperior to thoſe of that re- "ſpectable lady Mother Gooſe." — *Ah! vraiment, que ce meme Monſieur Bryant eſt un fort mauvais plaiſant!*

mer part of my Diſſertation, attacked his *Radicals*; I had glanced at his *Syſtem*; and I had endeavoured to ſhow, how doubtfully qualified he was to judge of the point in queſtion. This, it is true, has ſomewhat ruffled him: but he tries to carry it handſomely. He is indeed a merry man. Another merry man, in a periodical publication, has already ſaid ſo; and it muſt be true‖. Yet the learned gentleman is ſometimes a little ſad or ſo. Something like an April day: now raining, now ſhining: laughing with one eye and crying with the other. He ſeems to wonder much what I had to do with his *Syſtem*: and, if he had given me a few good reaſons, I ſhould perhaps have wondered too. I wiſh he had prefixed, to his book, the patent which gives him the excluſive privilege of differing in opinion from all the world. For, I was really miſtaken enough to ſuppoſe, that the right, which I had to diſſent from him, was preciſely equal to the right which I had to diſſent from a Newton or a Monteſquieu: and I ſuppoſed it to be preciſely equal to that right, which the

‖ After indulging, ſays this other man of humour, a vein of pleaſantry which one would not have expected from the author of the *Analyſis*. — Gentleman's Magazine for May 1778, p. 213.

learned gentleman himſelf has, with equal freedom, and more triumph, exerciſed in condemning the ſyſtems of a Pezron, of a Wiſe, and of other ingenious men.

THAT the *Mythology* ſtood more in the fore ground of my Diſſertation, aroſe entirely from the nature of the work. The learned author had, *en clinquant*, depreciated without reaſon, and without knowledge, languages which I thought it juſt to ſupport. He had framed a *Syſtem*, which had in contemplation vaſt objects indeed. It was deſcribed as *the baſis of hiſtory*; *the ſtandard of criticiſm*; *and the guide to the ſtudies of youth* †. The dark labyrinth of the early ages was his object of reſearch; and etymological analyſis his great clue of conduct. His ſcene of action lay chiefly on Aſiatic ground; yet Aſiatic languages he affected to deſpiſe. He ſubſtituted definitions, which no man ever knew; and he ſheltered himſelf behind the viſionary ſhade of an inexiſting tongue. — Yet in thoſe neglected languages, I fancied there were ſignications expreſſive and unforced, which might illuſtrate remote antiquity. I fancied there were many, which, better than thoſe he had choſen, might have enlightened the darkneſs

† Mythology, Vol. III. Pref. p. vi. &c.

of his ingenious Syſtem: and I fancied there could be no impropriety in ſubmitting ſuch definitions for public approbation or cenſure. [f]

ALL this has much hurt the learned author. He has addreſſed to me *An Apology* ‡; where I am accuſed of miſunderſtanding his plan. He has ſaid that I had not read his book; and he has challenged me to a deeper inveſtigation. I wiſh then to convince him that I have read his book: and it is poſſible he now may think too much. I have been led to conſider his *Syſtem*, at large, with more attention: and what before ſeemed to be merely *improbable*, I now conceive, upon his own grounds, to be irreconcileable with the Sacred Writings; to be unſupported by reaſon; to be inconſiſtent with itſelf. In a word, to be *impoſſible*. [g]

To ſupport theſe poſitions I now proceed. And, as I wiſh to addreſs myſelf to the common ſenſe of general readers, whoſe line of ſtudy may not have led them to Oriental pur-

‡ This *Apology* was never *publiſhed*: it was *whiſpered* abroad: and was perhaps not intended for my inſpection. Accident alone informed me of it's exiſtence: and to the politeneſs of our much reſpected Vice Chancellor and Dr. Kennicott, I was indebted for the peruſal. This is a new mode of *apologizing*. — There is certainly *humour* in this learned gentleman.

ſuits, I ſhall arrange my obſervations under different heads, that the chief lines of evidence may not be interſected and obſcured by ſuch etymological diſquiſitions, as ſome part of the ſubject may ſtill require.[1]

SECT. II.

Inconſiſtency in the Chronology of the Analyſis.

AS chronological accuracy ought ever to form the ground-work of every rational hiſtorical deduction, it ſhould apparently have been an object of peculiar attention in the conſtruction of a *Syſtem*, which was to reform all former ſyſtems; to render ſuperfluous every future ſyſtem; and to clear up the perplexing difficulties, which had long embarraſſed our greateſt men in the chronological line. But this, I am apprehenſive, is rather to be wiſhed for, than to be found, in the *New Analyſis of Ancient Mythology*.[2]

To pave the way for the expedition of his *Cuthites*, two great eras ought to have been ſtudied with care. I mean thoſe of the *Uni-*

verſal Deluge, and of the *Diviſion of the Earth* among the poſterity of Noah. As we can have no *true* lights to guide us to thoſe great events, but the Books of Moſes, it cannot be improper to enquire how far, with regard to theſe, the principles of the *Analyſis* are juſt. And here it may be neceſſary to premiſe, as the learned gentleman does not appear to have ſufficiently attended to circumſtances of ſo much conſequence to his hypotheſis, That two ſyſtems of Chronology have, for a long time, chiefly divided the attention of the Chriſtian world: the Patriarchal Genealogies, according to the Hebrew Bible; and thoſe adopted by the Septuagint. It is foreign to the preſent queſtion, to enter into the diſcuſſion of a ſubject, on which ſo many learned men have differed: but, as the Hebrew, from which our tranſlation is made, has long been almoſt generally received into common uſe, it ſeems to be incumbent upon every writer, who chuſes to depart from that ſyſtem, to aſſign his reaſons, and to inform his readers, upon what canons he propoſes to proceed. This however the learned gentleman has not done: neither has he adhered to any regular ſtandard. He has taken the range of many volumes: and his extracts are copious. But their jarring chronologies he ſeems

to have followed without reflexion; and to have involved himſelf in a labyrinth of perplexity, which makes him at variance with the Bible, with its verſions, and with himſelf. By the Hebrew Bible, the Deluge happened in the year of the Creation 1656: by the Septuagint, in 2262: and both agree in fixing the Diviſion of the Earth to the days of Peleg. [b]

THE *Migration* of the poſterity of Noah to the different regions aſſigned to them by divine appointment, the learned gentleman labours to prove, as the leading point of his *Syſtem*, to have been an event prior to the *Babel Diſperſion*. And this Migration, on the authority of Euſebius, he has placed in the year of the world 2672, when Noah was 930 years old. But in another place, tranſcribing from Epiphanius, he ſuppoſes Noah to have reſided with his poſterity, before the Migration 659 years, in the neighbourhood of Mount Ararat, where the ark is ſaid to have reſted after the Deluge *. Theſe facts and dates he conſiders as undiſputed; he reaſons from them, and makes them the groundwork of his ſubſequent poſitions. [c]

* Mr. Bryant, after obſerving that the diſtribution of the earth was by divine appointment, quotes the following words of Euſebius, "The diſtribution of the earth

Now let us try their validity. And firſt, by the chronology of the Hebrew Bible. The Flood, as before obſerved, happened in the year 1656: Noah, being then 600 years of

" happened in *the two thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſecond* " year of the creation, and in the *nine hundred and thir-* " *tieth* year of the Patriarch's life. Then it was that " Noah, by divine appointment, divided the world be- " tween his three ſons."—The like is found, he adds, in Syncellus, Epiphanius, and other writers.—Many of the Fathers, ſays Mr. Bryant afterwards, were of opinion, that they (the poſterity of Noah) did not for ſome ages quit this region. According to Epiphanius, they remained in the vicinity of Ararat for five generations, during the ſpace of *ſix hundred and fifty-nine years*. " After " the ark, upon the decreaſe of the waters, had reſted up- " on the mountains of Ararat, upon that particular emi- " nence called Lubar, which bounds the countries of " the Armenians and Cardueans; the region where it " ſettled became the firſt place occupied by mankind. " Here the Patriarch Noah took up his reſidence, and " planted the vine. In this place he ſaw a large progeny " deſcend from him, children after children—to the fifth " generation, for the ſpace of ſix hundred and fifty-nine " years."——As the learned gentleman has been at much pains to ſhew, that theſe Fathers were very wrong, in many points of leſs importance, it is wonderful he did not queſtion them, upon the very ground-work of his *Syſtem*. Vid. Mythology Vol. III. p. 15. 22. Euſeb. Chron. p. 10. Syncel. p. 89. Epiphan. l. 2. t. 2. p. 703. l. 1. p. 5 and 6.

age. He lived afterwards 350 years, and died in the year 2006. Peleg, in whoſe days the earth is declared by Moſes to have been divided, was born in the year 1757; and died in 1996. But, according to the calculations adopted by the learned gentleman, the *Diviſion*, inſtead of being in the lifetime of thoſe two patriarchs, could not take place till 666 years after the death of Noah; and 676 after the death of Peleg. Whilſt, in the other paſſage, as quoted from Epiphanius, a ſtill greater impoſſibility is ſuppoſed: for Noah is there ſaid to have been alive 659 years after the deluge; which would not only poſtpone the Migration 249 years later than 2672, which he had already determined upon, but extend Noah's life to 1259 years; although every concurring authority makes the ſum of his age to have been only 950.

Let us now conſider theſe poſitions by the Septuagint chronology. Noah, at the era of the flood, which is fixed by the chief copies of that verſion to the year 2262, was, as above noticed, 600 years old: to which, if we add the 350 years he lived after it, he muſt have died in the year 2612, ſixty years before the migration, inſtead of being alive twenty years afterwards. Whilſt Peleg, not

having been born, agreeable to the Septuagint, till the year 2794, the Migration, according to the date the learned gentleman has followed, muſt have taken place 122 years before his exiſtence. [e]

But, however inconſiſtent he might have been with all the chronologies of the Sacred Writings; a conformity with himſelf might perhaps have been expected. But even this we do not find. I have neither time, inclination, nor room, to dwell upon many points. I ſhall only mention one. In his inveſtigation of the Egyptian Dynaſties, he places the Exodus of the children of Iſrael, in the year before Chriſt 1494; (which is within about two years of our Bible chronology): their reſidence in Egypt he computes at 215 years: the Shepherd kings, whom he ſuppoſes to be *Cuthites*, ruled over Egypt 259 years; and were expelled 37 years before the ſettlement of Jacob and his ſons. Now if theſe ſums are added together, the *Cuthite* Invaſion muſt have been 2005 years before Chriſt; or (as he here goes by the Hebrew chronology) in the year of the world 1999; which is no fewer than 673 years before he, in another place, makes them, or any of the ſons of Noah, to have moved from the ſpot where the ark reſted after the flood. So that the

three great objects of this elaborate work; the *Deluge*, the *Migration*, and the *expeditions of the ſons of Chus*, are left, in a point of ſuch importance as time, ſo wholly unſettled, as to vary in every circumſtance: and to differ, in ſome, near 800 years.[f]

To borrow a favourite word from the learned gentleman, there is ſomething *chaotic* in all this. — Will he allow me to ſuppoſe any writer of general hiſtory to have dated one fact by the Olympiads; another by the the era of Nabonaſſar; and a third by the epoch of the Seleucidæ? ſhould we in another place find, according to the authors from whom he had tranſcribed, the Chriſtian, the Diocleſian, and the Mohammedan eras, promiſcuouſly followed, without ſpecification or arrangement: what opinion would the learned gentleman entertain of that writer's accuracy? What judgment would he form of his authenticity, even in facts he could not diſprove? — He might indeed give him credit as a very ingenious compiler: he might poſſibly admire his fancy for the marvellous: but whilſt his eras were thus a-dancing the hays, I am much afraid he would think rather irreverently of his authority; and look upon him as a merry man, ſhould he gravely

tell us, *that his Book was to be the baſis of Hiſtory, the ſtandard of criticiſm, and the guide to the ſtudies of youth.*

SECT. III.

Of Mr. Bryant's Theory of the Diſperſion; and of the expeditions of the Sons of Chus.

IN the former part of this Diſſertation, (p. 110) I have obſerved, that the Sacred Writings afford no light to trace the wanderings of the Cuthites: and Mr. Bryant, in his *Apology*, expreſſes much ſurprize at this opinion †. But as he has produced no arguments to ſhake it, I ſhall endeavour not only

† The baſis of his hypotheſis he pretends to find in the following words: "It is ſaid by Moſes, that Chus begat "ſeveral children, and among them Nimrod, who built "Babel. And it is farther ſaid, that thoſe, who built "Babel, *the friends and aſſociates* of *Nimrod*, were diſper-"ſed." *Apology*, p. 79. In reſpect to this, I ſhall only beg leave to know in what part of the Sacred Writings the words in Italics are to be found. The reſt will not in the leaſt ſupport his Syſtem.

to defend what I have already ſaid; but to ſhow, that his doctrine of the Diſperſion has no foundation in hiſtory or reaſon: that it is in oppoſition to Scripture: and deſtructive even of the ſyſtem he propoſes to ſupport. [a]

PREPARATORY to the great part which he makes the Cuthites play upon the theatre of the world, there are a chain of leading circumſtances, taken for facts, which are preciſely the very points that require moſt of all to be demonſtrated. For the leaſt failure in the truth of one link deſtroys the reaſoning; confounds the ſubſequent events; and leaves the whole a complete fable. [b]

1. THE General Diviſion of the earth, he ſays, was diſtinct from and prior to the Babel Diſperſion (Mythol. Vol. III. p. 18. et ſeq.). 2. That, at the general Migration, Shem and Japhet departed immediately from Ararat, for the regions allotted to them: but the line of Ham, and particularly the ſons of Chus, rebelling againſt the divine appointment, remained for ſome time behind: and, then marching off under Nimrod, took a circuit towards Chaldea; from whence they forcibly ejected Aſhur (ib. p. 17. 22. et ſeq.) 3. That this body, under Nimrod, were thoſe who (Gen. ch. xi.) are ſaid to have journeyed from the Eaſt to the Plain of Shinar: that they

were the builders of the Tower: and that they were the only objects of the Diſperſion (ib. p. 23. 26. &c.)

As it is immaterial to the preſent diſquiſition, to enquire how far the firſt poſition may be juſt or not, I ſhall, for the ſake of argument, allow it, however uncertain, to be ſtill poſſible: and proceed to conſider, whether the other heads, ſuppoſing this firſt principle admitted, will ſtand the touchſtone of truth or probability.

Now let us ſuppoſe, with the learned gentleman, all mankind to be ſtill in the vicinity of Mount Ararat; and the Diviſion of the earth to have been juſt made by the divine appointment, agreeable to his own allotment. (Vol. III. p. 17.) "The children of Shem "in general had Aſia for their lot; and Ja-"phet had Europe, and Ham the large con-"tinent of Africa." With this diſtribution, we are told the Cuthites were diſſatisfied. They would not migrate with the other branches of Noah's family. They wandered about, for ſome time, not in the route to their appointed country: and made at length a violent treſpaſs upon the ſons of Shem. But where is the leaſt evidence of this diſobedience, upon which ſo much is made to depend? Does Scripture, either directly, or by

implication, give it countenance? Does any authentic record of profane hiſtory aſſert it? And from whence indeed could ſuch diſcontents ariſe? Africa, it may be ſaid, is inferior to Aſia and to Europe. But how could the Cuthites form the leaſt idea of their portion till they had ſeen it? Whilſt all mankind were ſtill at Ararat, how was it poſſible for them to diſcover, without inſpiration, what regions in the world were preferable to the reſt? Egypt, and the Mediterranean coaſts of Africa, are, at the ſame time, amongſt the moſt delightful regions of the univerſe. There the firſt colonies of the line of Ham are ſuppoſed to have ſettled: and there a great ſuperabundance of room muſt have ſtill remained, for many ages after the original migration. But had theſe diſtricts, on the contrary, preſented nothing to the eye, but rugged rocks and parching ſands, ſtill how could this be diſcovered till they were ſeen? Before we can conceive murmurings, rebellion, and violence, even in the moſt degenerate times, we ſhould naturally know for what. But here, according to the learned gentleman's own hypotheſis, in the golden age of the world, whilſt mankind lived under the mild rule of the great patriarch; before laws were enacted or penalties known; to ſuppoſe a ſet of men, ſtimulated neither by reſentment, by oppreſſion, nor by ambition,

perverſely to reſiſt the great deſigns of Omnipotence; to reject a ſettlement which they did not know, but to which they had a right; and where, as being unpoſſeſſed, they could meet with no oppoſition: merely to depart, by a painful route, in ſearch of another, of which they knew as little; to which they had no right; and where, as being already occupied, reſiſtance muſt naturally be expected from the original ſettlers: ſeems to be by much too improbable to be ſupported ſolely by conjecture. Poſitive proof alone ought to give ſuch ſuppoſitions a title to our belief: but eſpecially where they are made the baſis of a Syſtem.

One obſtacle is *preſumed*, indeed, to the migration of this family; and ſome *ſurmiſes* are brought to ſupport the *preſumption*. The paſſes towards the South through the Gordyean hills, he ſuppoſes, might poſſibly have been more difficult, than thoſe to the Eaſt or to the Weſt. But, allowing them for one moment to have been ſo, How again could the Cuthites have learnt thoſe difficulties? How could they know, whether there were mountains or plains, woods or deſerts, rivers or ſeas, between them and their deſtined place, till they had once ſet out; till they had attempted a paſſage; till they had found it impracticable; and been forced to return? But

are thoſe attempts or thoſe diſappointments any where related? If not: where, but in a warm imagination, could thoſe fancied obſtacles have originated? [f]

But even the difficulty of this route, after all, ſeems founded upon no good evidence: and nothing can more clearly diſcover the feebleneſs of the ſuppoſition, than the circumſtances which are advanced to give it the colour of argument. The difficulty of paſſing thoſe mountains, he thinks, may be conjectured from the retreat, in after-times, of the 10,000 Greeks. But, not to enter into the minute detail of a march, which appears to have nearly as much connexion with the ſuppoſed route of the ſons of Ham, as with Hannibal's paſſage of the Alps; it may be juſt ſufficient to conſider, the South-weſt bearing of Africa from Armenia, and compare it with the courſe which Xenophon deſcribes; to be perfectly convinced, that the two routes muſt have cut one another nearly at right angles; and that the point of contact muſt have been, of conſequence, a mere ſpot; a mile, half a mile, a few yards: beyond which thoſe routes could not have one inch in common. [g]

But could any illuſtration be more unſatisfactory than the above, it muſt, I think, be the idea which immediately follows: —

"But in the times of which we are treat-
"ing they muſt have been ſtill more difficult
"to be ſurmounted: for, after the deluge,
"the hollows and vallies between theſe hills,
"and all other mountainous places, muſt
"have been full of ſlime and mud; and,
"for a great while, have abounded with ſtag-
"nant waters." (Vol. III. p. 24.) Now had this ſingular ſurmiſe the leaſt bottom, would it not have operated equally againſt all the emigrants of the other branches? For, to what quarter of the heavens, from Ararat, are there not lofty mountains, divided by lower grounds? But again; how long was it after the Flood before the Migration took place? for the learned gentleman's chronology leaves us too much at large to form any preciſe idea. Was it 1265 years, or 1016 (by the Hebrew); or 659 or 410 (by the Septuagint)? for we are left to our conjecture for each of theſe numbers. Let us take then the loweſt. The waters of the Deluge, which roſe fifteen cubits above the higheſt mountains, ſubſided, we are informed, in a few months. Could ſo many years be neceſſary for conſolidating the mud? Such mud, and ſuch waters, as were not dried up in much leſs than 400 years, I am much afraid, were never intended to be naturally dried up till the end of time.

UPON this ground however the learned gentleman reſts: and conceives it to be ſufficiently ſolid to entitle him to ſend the Sons of Chus by another route; in order to make them the people who journeyed from the Eaſt to the plain of Shinar. But, however unſupported the cauſe may be which produces this effect, the very track by which he leads his Cuthites might, even in point of difficulty, be ſufficient to overturn the reaſon which induces him to ſend them by that way. "In reſpect to the Cuthites, who "ſeem (p. 25. Vol. III.) to have been a good "while in a roving ſtate, they might poſſibly "travel to the Pylæ Caſpiæ, before they "found an outlet to deſcend to the country "ſpecified." And, agreeably to this idea, we have (p. 70.) a map of their ſuppoſed circuit. But the plate, though calculated entirely for the Syſtem, proves, unluckily, either by inadvertency or deſign, to be ſo much abridged, without the leaſt apparent neceſſity, that the Pylæ Caſpiæ are not to be found in it: and we are preſented only with the departure of the Cuthites from Ararat, and their arrival in Babylonia: their intermediate courſe being cut off. So far, at the ſame time, from finding an outlet for them by the Pylæ Caſpiæ, which geographers in gene-

ral conſider to be Derbend; the place from whence he makes them ſet out, (which he ſuppoſes to be in the neighbourhood of Nakhſhuvan, ſituated to the Northward of the Aras or Araxes) is about three degrees to the ſouthward; and the courſe, which he traces on the map, proceeds, at the opening, in a ſouth-eaſt direction, ſkirting the ſouth-weſt corner of the Caſpian; and never again, from the nature of the track, turning to the northward. The continuation of the route from the Caſpian, as I have already obſerved, is cut off: but, by ſupplying the ſegment of their circular courſe, we find them led thro' ways fully as difficult and tremendous at leaſt as any given diſtrict of the Gordyean hills. For, from Nakhſhuvan, after paſſing the rapid *pontem indignans Araxes*, they muſt have ſurmounted the almoſt impaſſable chain of mountains which environ Ghilan, Mazenderan or or Tabriſtan; and ſo proceed through Perſian Irak, Kuhiſtan, or Gebel; the very names of which are expreſſive of mountainous regions: and, from the concurring teſtimony of every hiſtorian, geographer, and traveller, are, in many places, rugged, horrible, and dangerous, even to a proverb. [1]

And here I muſt not omit the only authority he brings (Vol. III. p. 25.) in ſupport of

this circular route of the Cuthites. "I was "ſurprized, after I had formed this opinion "from the natural hiſtory of the country, to "find it verified by that ancient hiſtorian "Beroſus. He mentions the route of his "countrymen from Ararat, after the Deluge; "and ſays, that it was not in a ſtraight line: "but people had been inſtructed περὶξ περιόδους "εἰς Βαβυλωνίαν, (which he interprets) *to* "*take a circuit, and ſo to deſcend to the regions* "*of Babylon.*" The learned gentleman, we repeatedly ſee, can build a great deal upon very ſlender authority. But what, after all, can this ſhred poſſibly prove in ſupport of his hypotheſis? To go *round* to Babylonia might be a mere figure of ſpeech. It might imply to the Weſtward through Syria, as well as to the Eaſtward through Perſia. It might imply a circuit of five, or of five hundred miles. It might be made to apply to the people of Shem or of Japhet, as well as to the people of Ham. It might, in a word, mean any thing; and be adapted to any ſyſtem. It might mean nothing; and never have happened at all. [k]

To follow the argument, however, let us ſuppoſe the Cuthites, againſt all authority and reaſon, to have actually purſued this route: let us ſuppoſe them to have arrived at Shinar;

and to have been the actual and only builders of the Tower: but whilſt they are ſo employed, I ſhall beg leave, before I proceed, to conſider their ſuppoſed leader Nimrod. And here I muſt confeſs, were there even no other inconſiſtency, I ſhould be much inclined to queſtion a ſyſtem, which depended ſo much upon a perſonage, whoſe era and hiſtory are left ſo uncertain as thoſe of Nimrod. In Scripture he is only twice ſuperficially mentioned (Gen. ch. x.—I. Chron. ch. i.); the one is but a tranſcript of the other; and the whole indeed is ſo entirely an epiſode, that it might with eaſe be omitted, without injuring in the leaſt the Sacred Writings, where the great object is the line of Shem. The beginning of Nimrod's kingdom is ſaid to have been Babel: but when he reigned, how long he reigned, who were his ſubjects, or whether his actions were good or bad, we are left entirely to conjecture. Many indeed have been the opinions of the learned: and they are almoſt as contradictory as they are numerous. Some conſider him as a great and a good prince: ſome as an uſurper and a tyrant. That he was a *mighty one on the earth*, and a *mighty hunter before the Lord*, is all that we learn from Moſes, with regard to his character: and it is apparently torturing reaſon, to affix, to theſe expreſſions, meanings intrinſically vicious. That

he was an apoſtate from God, or a rebel againſt his anceſtors, are mere aſſumptions without proof; and advanced with no other view than to ſupport ſyſtems. Bochart ſays, that he rebelled againſt Noah, whom he depoſed, and uſurped the government of men. But where is the authority? Mr. Bryant beſtows liberally upon him the epithets of Arch-rebel and Apoſtate: But where again is the authority? They are no where to be diſcovered in the originals, in the verſions, nor in the paraphraſes of the Sacred Writings. [1]

As our learned author, to advance his ſyſtem, has inſiſted, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Chaldea were not thoſe who built the Tower, he has ſuppoſed that country to have been the lot of Aſhur, in the ſubdiviſion of the portion of Shem: and he has ſuppoſed, as already obſerved, that the people who journeyed from the Eaſt were Nimrod and his Cuthite tribe; by whom Aſhur was forcibly expelled. But ſtill, I am obliged to repeat, where is the authority? Moſes ſays ſimply, "Out of this land went forth Aſhur, and "builded Nineveh," &c. But where are the words which imply the prior occupancy of Aſhur? Where are the words which imply Expulſion? The more natural conſtruction would ſuppoſe a mere voluntary migration to

found a new ſtate: and, when we oppoſe obvious reaſoning, upon any ground, our facts ſhould be ſtrong. But here nothing can be more doubtful. Bochart, Hyde, and other learned men even ſuppoſe, that Aſhur, in this place, is not the name of a man, but of a country: they interpret the paſſage, *Out of that land he (Nimrod) went forth into Aſhur*; and they ſupport their opinions by the *Targum Onkeloſi*, and other authorities: which, if not perfectly ſatisfactory, ſhew clearly at leaſt, that the prior ſettlement and expulſion of Aſhur are circumſtances of a nature too obſcure, to afford good ground even for conjecture: but far leſs for a ſyſtem; which, like Aaron's rod, is to devour the ſyſtems of all preceding writers, and teach us truths hitherto concealed from all the world. Commentators have in general conſidered thoſe early ages as days of peace. Wars, they think, were not waged till hundreds of years after the Diſperſion. And, as it muſt have been perfectly agreeable to the Divine Wiſdom, that mankind, on the firſt diviſion of the earth, ſhould have ſpread themſelves without unneceſſary bloodſhed, we are not juſtified in ſuppoſing the contrary, without the moſt poſitive proof. [m]

As the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom is declared by Moſes to have been Babel: and as

Mr. Bryant allows him to have been the firſt king of the whole earth; it muſt indeed be a contradiction in terms to acknowledge, at the ſame time, Aſhur's previous ſovereignty of Babylonia *. If the Migration therefore is to be conſidered as prior to the Diſperſion: if the original inhabitants of Chaldea were not the Builders of the Tower: if thoſe who journeyed from the Eaſt were the invaders of a country already poſſeſſed: it follows, that Nimrod, having been the king of the aboriginal people, could not, at the ſame time, be the leader of thoſe who attacked his dominions. Nimrod, we may obſerve, though he might build the *city* of Babel, is no where in Scripture ſaid to have built the *tower*; and, if thoſe who journeyed from the Eaſt were not the whole but a part of Mankind, the moſt obvious concluſion we can draw is, that they were of the line of Shem; for they alone

* Any quibble, that Nimrod was a *king*, and that Aſhur was not, muſt be a diſtinction without a difference. They were both chiefs of their people; both muſt have exerted rights of government peculiar to their age: and, whatever titles they might adopt, they muſt ſtill be conſidered as ſovereigns. Even Nimrod is not called a *king* by Moſes. It is only ſaid that the beginning of his kingdom was Babel: and the word in the original may imply the dominions of any ſovereign, by whatever title he may be diſtinguiſhed.

had the Eaſt for their portion. Japhet and Ham muſt have journeyed from the Weſtward: and, without evidence, we muſt do violence to our reaſon to believe the contrary. *

BEFORE we diſmiſs Nimrod, I ſhould be glad juſt to know, when the learned gentleman ſuppoſes him to have lived: for, till that is determined, we ſhall be much at a loſs to account for his leading off the Cuthites from Ararat, agreeable to his Syſtem. After the extract from Epiphanius (formerly inſerted p. 390.), where Noah is ſuppoſed to have lived in the neighbourhood of that mountain 659 years after the flood; Mr. Bryant obſerves, "That the ſons of Chus went off "under the conduct of the Archrebel Nim-"rod *." Now Moſes being ſilent, with

* "During the reſidence of mankind in thoſe parts, we may imagine there was a ſeaſon of great happineſs. They for a long time lived under the mild rule of the great Patriarch, before laws were enacted, or penalties known. When they multiplied and became very numerous, it pleaſed God to allot, to the various families, different regions, to which they were to retire: and they accordingly, in the days of Peleg [none of the learned gentleman's calculations will correſpond however with the days of Peleg], did remove and betake themſelves to their different departments. But the ſons of Chus would not obey. They went off under the conduct of the archrebel Nim-

regard to the age of this prince, he has been ſuppoſed, by many commentators on the Bible, to have begun to reign in the year of the World 1757, and to have reigned 148 years. Bedford, in his Chronology, makes him to ſucceed his father, (whom he calls Cuſh or Belus II.) in the year 1960, and to have died in 2012. Whilſt others, among whom is the elaborate Dr. Jackſon, do not make his reign to commence till the year 2788, and to have laſted only ſix years.—Which of theſe will the learned gentleman chuſe? Or what other canons will he prefer? Or will he frame new ones? To which of his own epochs of the Migration will he be pleaſed, at

rod; and ſeem to have been for a long time in a roving ſtate; but at laſt they arrived at the plains of Shinar. Theſe they found occupied by Aſſur and his ſons: for he had been placed there by divine appointment. But they ejected him, and ſeized upon his dominions; which they immediately fortified with cities, and laid the foundation of a great monarchy. Their leader is often mentioned by the Gentile writers, who call him Belus. He was a perſon of great impiety; who finding the earth had been divided among the ſons of men by a divine decree, thought proper to counteract the ordinance of God, and to make a different diſtribution." Vol. III. p. 22. —To all this, I can only ſay, with the old ſong, " 'Tis fine indeed, if " 'twas but true!"

the ſame time, to adapt them? To the migration, in 2672, as adopted from Euſebius, none of the above will anſwer: and with that of Epiphanius in 2921, they will correſpond ſtill leſs: for, ſtretch the life of Nimrod to the utmoſt extent that imagination has given him, and he muſt have been long dead before the Cuthites, by the above hypotheſis, had moved from Ararat, or the Tower of Babel even could be thought of. *

But ſtill, though every ſtep we have hitherto travelled with the Cuthites appears to be completely fanciful, to give every latitude to the argument, let us ſuppoſe them to have actually driven Aſhur out of Babylonia, and to have built the Tower. Yet, even here, I am afraid, his arguments will be diſcovered to be far from ſound. They may go a great way farther than the learned author ſeems to be aware of; for they cannot poſſibly be allowed, without injuring a much more important object. I mean the *Univerſality of the Deluge*. If the interpretation which (Vol. III. p. 27.) he has been pleaſed to give us of the 11th chapter of Geneſis, is admitted, it muſt ruin his Syſtem: as it is preciſely adopting the very line of evidence, which many learned men have urged, in ſupport of the *locality of the Flood*. And if the expreſſion *the whole*

earth, which is ſo often and ſo emphatically repeated in this chapter, is to be conſidered as a mere figurative mode of writing, and to imply only *a particular diſtrict*; the learned author gives up, with one daſh of his pen, the moſt important point in his whole book: and furniſhes his antagoniſts with the very weapons they wiſh. For, if he is permitted to make ſuch uſe of one chapter, to adapt it to his purpoſe; they will, and with juſtice, claim from him an equal right to the ſame freedom of tranſlation, in the chapters which precede: and conſider the words *All fleſh: every living ſubſtance: all the high hills, under the whole heaven:* and ſuch ſimilar expreſſions: as having merely a partial ſenſe; and to be ſimply underſtood as metaphorical figures of ſpeech. This indeed is a line of argument, which was leaſt of all to be expected from our learned author: but it ſhows, that all things, however conſequential, muſt give way to his *Cuthite Syſtem:* and that the *Univerſality of the Deluge*, though profeſſedly his chief object of inveſtigation, proves, in fact, a mere ſecondary conſideration to his favourite people. But one of theſe points he muſt give up, or he betrays both. And here indeed he has no choice. The *Cuthites* muſt fall: for this part of his own evidence becomes deciſive of their

fate. It is a two-edged weapon unſkilfully handled: for if *the whole earth*, in one line, means only a *particular province*, it muſt clearly have the ſame limited ſenſe in that which follows: "Therefore is the name of "it called Babel, becauſe the Lord did there "confound the language of *all the earth*: "and from thence did the Lord ſcatter them "abroad upon the face of *all the earth*." Now, if the Confuſion of Speech was confined to the Cuthites, and to the region about Babel; the Diſperſion muſt have alſo been confined to the ſame diſtrict. This judgement, he muſt allow, was either *general* or *limited*. If *general*, all mankind muſt have been intereſted in the building of the Tower: and all mankind muſt, of conſequence, have been diſperſed. If *limited*, and the Cuthites were the only objects of divine vengeance, their flight muſt have been limited alſo to the diſtrict of Chaldea: and their whole fanciful wanderings prove, of courſe, a baſeleſs fabric: a mere caſtle of cards, pompouſly reared upon a ſtratum of chaff. P

SECT. IV.

Of Sanconiathon, Manetho, Berosus.

I HAVE considered Sanconiathon, Manetho, and Berosus (p. 106) as remote fablers: and this, among other things, has much offended Mr. Bryant But as his arguments have not given me a more favourable impression of those writers, I shall here beg leave to offer a few reasons, upon which I ground the opinion I have formed of the histories, which pass under their names.

As the learned author does not build so much upon the two first, my notice of them will be proportionably short. But, as Berosus seems to be viewed as a corner stone, I shall consider him more at large. These histories, it may be observed, as we go along, if they ever did exist, which I will not positively assert, now exist no more in their original tongues. Many of those even, to whom the translations have been attributed, are now known only by name: and their fragments

broken, corrupted, and juſtly ſuſpected, are handed down to us only by Euſebius and other writers poſterior to the Chriſtian era *. The ſubjects of which they treat, are, at the ſame time, chiefly antediluvian; extracted from materials heaven knows where depoſited; and, in general, ſo wild, ſo impoſſible, and ſo little reſembling any circumſtance of our world, that, like dreams, they may be interpreted even preciſely as we liſt.

SANCONIATHON, ſuppoſed to have been cotemporary with Gideon, drew materials,

* In the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, when the fathers of the Church, the Jews, and the Heathen philoſophers, were ſo warmly engaged in controverſy, there is reaſon to believe, that pious frauds were not uncommon: and that when one party ſuſpected forgeries, inſtead of an attempt at confutation, which might have been difficult, they had recourſe perhaps to a countermine: and either invented altogether, or eked out ſome obſcure traditional ſcraps by the embelliſhments of fancy. When we conſider, amongſt many literary impoſitions of later times, that Pſalmanazar's hiſtory of Formoſa, was, even in this enlightened age and country, conſidered by our moſt learned men as unqueſtionably authentic, till the confeſſion of the author diſcovered the ſecret; I think it is not difficult to conceive, how forgeries of remote events, before the invention of printing and the general diffuſion of knowledge, might gain an authority, and eſpecially with the zealous, hardly inferior to that of the moſt genuine hiſtory.

we are told, for his Phenician antiquities, from the writings of Taaut, Hermes, or Mercury; the whole of which are ſo completely antediluvian, that there is not a ſyllable to be found in them relative to the deluge. They were pretended to have been diſcovered and tranſlated by Philo of Byblus, in the reign of the emperor Adrian: and, if they are not the entire forgeries of that writer, which has been much ſuſpected, it is generally allowed, that he has taken ſuch liberties with the original, that we have no criterion left, by which we can diſcriminate the true from the falſe. [c]

The ſame obſervations will pretty nearly apply to Manetho. He was, we are informed, an Egyptian prieſt; and lived about 260 years before Chriſt. His dynaſties of Egyptian kings, which even thoſe who uſe them, conſider, in a great meaſure, as his own invention, are ſaid to have been taken from pillars of ſtone erected in the land of Seriad; the latitude, longitude, or even the probable exiſtence of which, no geographer or traveller, I believe, has ever yet been able to diſcover. The inſcriptions on theſe pillars were, we are informed, made by the antediluvian Thoth or Mercury. They were, ſome time after the Flood, tranſlated into hieroglyphics by

Agathodæmon or Thoth the ſecond: and from ſuch reſpectable materials has Joſephus framed his aſtronomical pillars of Seth, his abſurd theory of the Shepherd kings, and half his improbable legends on ancient Egypt. *

Berosus, we learn, was a prieſt of the Babyloniſh deity Belus, and cotemporary with Alexander: though his ſuppoſed Annals of Chaldea were not publiſhed, as we are informed, till fifty-five years after the death of that prince. His materials, we are told by ſome authors, were compoſed partly from hieroglyphics, and partly from written records, preſerved in the Temple of his God for a period of 150,000 years *. But here we unfor-

* It is evident, though mention is made of other records, that there could be nothing but hieroglyphics, from whence Beroſus, or any writer, could compile a hiſtory of the times, of which he is ſuppoſed to have written. Yet Mr. Bryant ſays, (Vol. III. p. 108.) "And in reſpect to "what is more fully tranſmitted to us by Alexander Poly-"hiſtor from Beroſus; we may upon a cloſe inſpection "perceive, that the original hiſtory was of a two-fold na-"ture; and obtained by different means from two ſeparate "quarters. The latter part is plain, and obvious: and "was undoubtedly taken from the archives of the Chal-"deans. The former is allegorical and obſcure; and "was copied from hieroglyphical repreſentations, which "could not be preciſely decyphered." Now I wiſh the

tunately meet with a perplexing difficulty, even at the threſhold, which apparently cannot be eaſily ſurmounted. However ſatisfactory ſuch records may be conſidered by ſome ſyſtematic writers, I muſt beg to be informed, what authority there is, that they even exiſted in the days of this writer. For, not only the temple of Belus, as we are told by Arrian, but every ſacred place belonging to the Babylonians, were actually in ruins in the time of Alexander; ſuppoſed to have been demoliſhed by Xerxes on his return from the invaſion of Greece. When Alexander approached Babylon, after the conqueſt of India, he was met, according to this writer, by the Chaldean prieſts, who predicted to him, from the oracle of their God, ſome fatal accident, if he entered that city. The oracle, Alexander ſuſpected, had no concern in this prediction: and he imputed it to the private views of the prieſts. He had, ſome time before, reſolved to rebuild the temple of Belus with uncom-

learned gentleman would be conſiſtent with himſelf; for (p. 123.) he ſays, "For my part, I believe that there "was no writing antecedent to the Law at Mount Sina." This, by the Hebrew chronology, was 857 years after the Deluge. By the Septuagint, 1577. Where then could Beroſus diſcover, on theſe principles, *written* documents, relative to the Flood or to antediluvian times?

mon magnificence; and, for that purpoſe, when he marched for India, he had ordered the Babylonians to clear away the rubbiſh. But underſtanding, that, during his abſence, the work had gone ſlowly on, he declared, on his return, that he would employ his whole army in the undertaking. This was a circumſtance which the prieſts dreaded. For, great diſtricts of land, with other revenues, having been conſecrated by the Aſſyrian kings, for the ſacrifices and other ceremonies of the temple; the prieſts, after its deſtruction, had applied them to their own private emolument; and they wiſhed not to ſee them again diverted to their original uſes. From theſe apprehenſions they were only relieved by the death of Alexander, which put an end to the deſign. — Such having been the general havoc, and the ſubſequent neglected condition of the Babylonian temples, is it not natural to enquire, how the archives of 150,000 years eſcaped deſtruction? How hieroglyphics, whether upon tables or pillars, could remain undefaced? Or how any records indeed could well be ſaved from the rage of an arbitrary prince, frantic with diſappointment; who viewed the Babyloniſh ſuperſtition with horror; and ſeemed reſolved to exterminate hieroglyphics, as well as every memorial of their idol worſhip? And how, covered deep as they muſt

have been with rubbiſh, could Beroſus, or any other man, get even to the ſight of them; ſo as to deſcribe or tranſlate them, in any connected hiſtorical ſeries?

But I do not mean to confine my doubts of Beroſus merely to this ſuſpicious circumſtance, however ſtrong. I ſhall even ſuppoſe the hieroglyphics to have been entire; that they actually came under the inſpection of Beroſus; that he was a complete maſter of the decyphering art; and that his annals were really written in the Chaldaic language. To Africanus, Apollodorus, Alexander Polyhiſtor, and Abydenus §, it is ſaid, we are obliged for extracts: but we are not informed whether they were the tranſlators; or whether their knowledge of the Chaldaic language was ſufficient to give us any convincing idea of the fidelity of the verſion. But where are even theſe tranſlators? Are they any where now to be found? Have we even any *abſolute certainty* that they ever wrote or tranſlated one ſyllable as it now ſtands? We have fragments indeed, ſaid to have been copied from thoſe older Greek writers, preſerved by Euſebius

§ Africanus, according to Dr. Jackſon, flouriſhed in the year 220 before Chriſt; Apollodorus, 144; Alexander Polyhiſtor, 80; and Abydenus, 60.

and Syncellus. But in a ſtate ſo mutilated, ſo adulterated, that every writer upon thoſe ſubjects finds himſelf under the neceſſity of accuſing them, of altering, omitting, and interpolating words, and paſſages, to adapt the hiſtory to their reſpective views and ſyſtems. Truth herſelf would aſſume the garb of falſhood, if handed down to us through ſuch corrupted mediums. In what eſteem then muſt reaſonable men, who have no hypotheſis to eſtabliſh, hold ſuch wild effuſions of unnatural extravagance; which, like figures in the fire, a thouſand beholders might deſcribe a thouſand different ways? [f]

ONE or two extracts I have inſerted in the notes; and from thoſe the reader may form ſome opinion of the whole *. I do not in-

* "So much concerning the wiſdom of the Chaldeans, (ſays Euſebius from Abydenus). It is ſaid, that the firſt king of this country was Alorus; who gave out a report, that he was appointed by God to be the ſhepherd of his people. He reigned ten ſari. Now a ſarus is eſteemed 3600 years. A nereus is reckoned 600; and a ſoſus 60. After him Alaparus reigned three ſari: to him ſucceeded Amillarus, from the city of Pantibiblus, who reigned thirteen ſari. In his time a ſemidæmon, called Annedotus, in appearance very like to Oannes, ſhewed himſelf a ſecond time from the ſea. After him Amenon reigned twelve ſari; who was of the city of Pantibiblon. Then

tend to enlarge upon the God Belus cutting the woman aſunder; and forming of her the

Megalenus, of the ſame place, eighteen ſari. Then Daus the Shepherd governed for the ſpace of ten ſari: he was of Pantibiblon. In his time four double-ſhaped perſonages came out of the ſea to land: whoſe names were Euedocus, Eneugamus, Enaboulus and Anementus. After Daus ſucceeded Anodaphus, the ſon of Aedoreſchus. There were afterwards other kings; and laſt of all Siſuthrus: ſo that, in the whole, the number of kings amounted to ten: and the term of their reigns to 120 ſari."

"Alexander Polyhiſtor mentions, that Oannes ſhewed himſelf in the firſt year (of what?) but Apollodorus ſays that it was after 40 ſari. Abydenus, differing from both, makes the ſecond Annedotus appear after 26 ſari. *Euſebii Chronicon.* p. 5.—*Mythol.* Vol. III. p. 97. and 98.

"Moreover Oannes wrote concerning the generation of mankind: of their different ways of life, and of civil polity: and the following is the purport of what he ſaid: There was nothing but darkneſs, and an abyſs of water, wherein reſided moſt hideous beings, which were produced of a twofold principle. Men appeared with two wings; ſome with four; and with two faces. They had one body, but two heads; the one of a man, the other of a woman. They were likewiſe in their ſeveral organs both male and female. Other human figures were to be ſeen with the legs and horns of goats. Some had horſes feet: others had the limbs of a horſe behind; but before were faſhioned like men, reſembling hippocentaurs. Bulls likewiſe bred there with the heads of men; and dogs with fourfold bodies, and the tails of fiſhes. In ſhort, there

heavens and the earth: neither do I intend to enlarge upon his cutting off his own head: nor upon the whole animal ſyſtem which we

were creatures with the limbs of every ſpecies of animals. Add to theſe, fiſhes, reptiles, ſerpents, with other wonderful animals; which aſſumed each other's ſhape and countenance. Of all theſe were preſerved delineations in the temple of Belus at Babylon. The perſon who was ſuppoſed to have preſided over them had the name of Omerca. This in the Chaldaic language is Thalath; which the Greeks expreſs θαλασσα, the ſea; but, according to the moſt true computation, it is equivalent to (Σελήνη) the moon. All things being in this ſituation, Belus came and cut the woman aſunder: and out of one half of her he formed the earth, and of the other half, the heavens; and at the ſame time deſtroyed the animals in the abyſs. All this, Beroſus ſaid, was an allegorical deſcription of nature. For the whole univerſe conſiſting of moiſture, and animals being continually generated therein; the deity (Belus) above-mentioned, cut off his own head: upon which the other Gods mixed the blood, as it guſhed out, with the earth; and from thence men were formed. On this account it is that they are rational, and partake of divine knowledge. This Belus, whom men call Dis, divided the darkneſs, and ſeparated the heavens from the earth, and reduced the univerſe to order. But the animals ſo lately created, not being able to bear the prevalence of light, died. Belus, upon this, ſeeing a vaſt ſpace quite uninhabited, though by nature very fruitful, ordered one of the Gods to cut off his head (which we find above he had already cut off himſelf); and when it

find in ſhocking maſcarade. I ſhall only make a few remarks upon the man-fiſh Oannes and the ten Antediluvian kings, whoſe reigns extended to 432,000 years; as this ſubject leads to an ingenious criticiſm of our learned author. He diſcovers, under the deſcription of Oannes, we perceive, an allegorical repreſentation of the patriarch Noah †. Now, though this reſemblance may not perhaps be ſo ſtriking to ordinary men; we ſhall acquieſce in it,—upon the ſame principles that we muſt acquieſce in one half, at leaſt, of his learned

was taken off, they were to mix the blood with the ſoil of the earth; and from thence to form other men and animals, which ſhould be capable of bearing the light."—Euſeb. Chron.—Mythol. Vol. III. p. 102.

† Under the character of the *Man of the Sea*, whoſe name was Oannes, we have an allegorical repreſentation of the great patriarch; whom in his other hiſtory he calls Siſuthros. His whole body, it ſeems, was like that of a fiſh: and he had under the head of a fiſh, another head, &c. and a delineation of him was to be ſeen at Babylon. He infuſed into mankind a knowledge of right and wrong: inſtructed them in every ſcience: directed them to found temples; and to pay a regard to the Gods. He taught them alſo to diſtinguiſh the different ſorts of ſeeds; and to collect the fruits of the earth: and to provide againſt futurity. In ſhort, he inſtructed mankind ſo fully, that nothing afterward could be added thereto."—Vol. III. p. 109.

work: —becauſe he ſays it is ſo. Alexander Polyhiſtor, from Beroſus, (according to Euſebius) fixes the appearance of this man-fiſh to a certain year, which can be reconciled to no terreſtrial chronology. But Abydenus, from Beroſus, places this important event 93,000, and Apollodorus, alſo from Beroſus, 144,000 years after Polyhiſtor's era. Our learned author, with a laudable zeal to clear up this beautiful hiſtory, is, with much reaſon, exceedingly angry at thoſe fine old Grecians, for being guilty of ſuch ſhameful anachroniſms; and reduces the whole chaos to ſurpriſing order, by a very new hypotheſis indeed: to which, as I am unwilling to do the leaſt injuſtice, I ſhall beg leave to tranſcribe the paſſage.*

"We may be able to detect and confute "the abſurdity of Abydenus and Apollodo- "rus; who pretend, upon the authority of "this writer (Beroſus) to produce ten Ante- "diluvian kings, of whom no mention was "made by him: for what are taken by thoſe "writers for Antediluvians, are expreſsly re- "ferred by him to another era. Yet have "theſe writers been followed in their notions "by Euſebius, and ſome other of the an- "cients; and by almoſt every modern who "has written upon the ſubject. Their own

" words, or at leaſt the words, which they " quote from Beroſus, are of themſelves ſuf- " ficient to confute the notion. For they ſpeak " of the firſt king, who reigned, to have " been a Chaldean and of Babylon; and to " have been called Alorus. Now it is cer- " tain that Nimrod built Babel, which is " Babylon after the flood. He was a Chal- " dean, and the firſt king upon earth: and " he was called by many nations Orion and " Alorus. Yet by theſe writers Alorus is " made an Antediluvian prince; and being " raiſed ten generations above Siſuthrus or " Noah, he ſtands in the ſame degree of " rank as the Protoplaſt: and many in con- " ſequence of it have ſuppoſed him to be " Adam. We are much indebted to Alex- " ander Polyhiſtor for giving us not only a " more copious, but a more genuine extract " from Beroſus, than has been tranſmitted by " the other two writers. We know from " him that there were of that author two " books; of the firſt of which he has tranſ- " mitted to us a curious epitome. In this " book, after having given an account of the " country and its produce, he proceeds to the " hiſtory of the people: and the very firſt " occurrence is the appearance of Oannes (ὁ " Δαγων) the man of the ſea. He is intro-

" duced εν πρωτω ενιαυτω in the firſt year of the
" hiſtory, which is no other than the firſt
" year of the world after the flood; when
" there was a renewal of time, and the earth
" was in its ſecond infancy. At this period
" is Oannes introduced. But the other two
" writers, contrary to the tenor of the ori-
" ginal hiſtory, make him ſubſequent in time.
" This embarraſſes the account very much:
" for as he is placed the very firſt in the prior
" treatiſe of Beroſus; it is hard to conceive
" how any of theſe ten kings could have
" been before him: eſpecially as the author
" had expreſsly ſaid Εν τη δευτερα τυς ι βασιλεας
" *In the ſecond book I ſhall give an account of*
" *the ten kings of Babylon.* It is manifeſt from
" hence, that they were poſterior to Oannes,
" and to all the circumſtances of the firſt
" book. The Grecians, not knowing, or
" not attending to the eaſtern mode of wri-
" ting, have introduced theſe ten kings in
" the firſt book, which Beroſus expreſsly re-
" fers to the ſecond. They often inverted
" the names of perſons, as well as of places:
" and have ruined whole dynaſties through
" ignorance of arrangement. What the Orien-
" tals wrote from right to left, they were
" apt to confound by a wrong diſpoſition,
" and to deſcribe in an inverted ſeries. Hence

" theſe ſuppoſed kings, who, according to " Beroſus, were ſubſequent to the deluge, " and to the Patriarch, are made prior to " both: and he, who ſtood firſt, is made " later by ten generations, through a rever- " ſion of the true order." Vol. III. p. 111.

I MUST refer the curious reader to the Mythology itſelf; where the whole chain of argument will be found equally ſtrange with the above: I ſhall juſt conclude with the manner in which the ten Antediluvians are converted into Noah, Ham, Chus, and Nimrod. " I imagine, that the original liſt which " has been ſuppoſed to have been a dynaſty " of Antediluvian kings, was the genealogy " of Nimrod, the firſt king of the country; " in which were contained *four* perſons; Si- " ſuthrus or the Patriarch: next under the " character of Amenon, Amelon, Amilarus, " is Ham: Eudoreſchus (Euc-Ad-Arez- " Chus) is his ſon Chus: and laſtly, Alorus " Daonus the Shepherd was Nimrod: for it " is expreſsly ſaid of him, that he took the " title of Shepherd. The reſt are foreign " to the catalogue; and through ignorance " have been inſerted *." Vol. III. p. 122.

* He that can play ſo prettily with common ſenſe, and gulp down ſuch monſtrous crudities, need not, methinks,

FROM the whole, we find Apollodorus, Abydenus, Euſebius, all in the wrong. Confuſion, as he obſerves in another part, is worſe confounded. All I wonder at is, that men, with no higher pretenſions than mere human reaſon, ſhould expect to be otherwiſe amidſt ſuch rubbiſh. But our learned author, as we may perceive, ſets all things to rights in a twinkling; and by one of the eaſieſt operations in the world. By turning this puzzling dynaſty of Antediluvians topſy-turvy; and metamorphoſing the whole ten, with their long reigns of 432,000 years, into Noah, Ham, Chus, and Nimrod *. It is indeed a bold thought; yet ſimple, when known: for nothing, he ſays, can be more na-

have boggled ſo much at the *Arabian envoy*, or the *Kite and the Slave's girdle*. It is, like the old proverb, ſtraining at a gnat, and ſwallowing a camel. "In good truth, if "I may be allowed to ſpeak freely, hiſtories of this ſort "are very little ſuperior to thoſe of that reſpectable lady "Mother Gooſe." Vid. *Apology*, p. 98. and this *Diſſertation*, p. 5. 276. 355.

* Dr. Jackſon (Chron. Antiq. Vol. I. p. 200.) endeavours to prove, that theſe Babyloniſh *years* were only *days*. In conſequence of which, he makes Alorus to be the Tubal-cain of Scripture; and begins his reign about 1183 years before the Deluge. This ſyſtem is very different from Mr. Bryant's. Yet I think, though ingenious, that it is liable to objection. The Doctor ſuppoſes the

turally accounted for. Thoſe rogues of Greeks have perplexed every thing by not knowing

Chaldaic *Jomin*, like the Hebrew *Jomim*, to have ſignified *years* as well as *days*. But how could he know, what particular word was uſed by a Chaldaic writer; whoſe works, as I have already obſerved, if they ever were in being, have been confeſſedly loſt, at leaſt 1700 years? — The Doctor obſerves, (p. 215.) that the ages of the Gods and Demigods, before and after the Flood, were reckoned, among the Chaldeans, by myriads, thouſands, and hundreds of years; by which, he ſays, they meant only days: but that, after the Demigods, they, as well as the Egyptians, (whoſe years chronologers, in order to bring them within their canons, have reduced to months) began to reckon by ſolar years. This may, poſſibly, be true; as there can be nothing ſingular in finding the computations in old records, formed upon principles very different from what may be afterwards adopted, on the principles of improvement and convenience. Yet I think it would require very ſtrong evidence, to convince us, that any people, upon ſuch an alteration, ſhould, without any diſtinguiſhing mark, merely to create unneceſſary confuſion, uſe the ſame word to ſignify *one* day, and *three hundred and ſixty*, (the old Chaldean year).—The whole theory indeed ſeems too refined to be juſt; for, by proving, in ſome caſes, too much, I am afraid, it will prove nothing. The original records ſaid to have been preſerved in the Temple of Belus, on which the hiſtory of Beroſus is founded, comprehended a period of fifteen myriads or 150,000 years. This is unqueſtionably abſurd: but, if theſe years are reduced to days, they will not amount to 411 years; and fall con-

their right hand from their left.—Now I have only one or two trifling doubts; which, it

ſequently into the other extreme: by bringing down the antiquity of the Babylonian records within about 740 years of the Chriſtian era; inſtead of furniſhing materials for the antediluvian or poſtdiluvian dynaſties of Beroſus. Dr. Jackſon ſeems indeed to have been aware of this objection: and, to avoid the difficulty, he ſuppoſes that Syncellus has corrupted the tranſlation of Polyhiſtor; who, he thinks, muſt have found in Beroſus *fifty* myriads, inſtead of *fifteen*. But this is mere conjecture: and, if we are allowed to alter numbers in this manner, without the cleareſt evidence, all canons are nugatory; and every chronological perplexity may be ſettled at once, without the trouble of ſearch or inveſtigation. Yet, even by this propoſed amendment, if we ſuppoſe the myriads to be computed from the days of Beroſus, the hypotheſis is not mended: for ſuch records would then aſcend but little higher than Moſes: which could give no light to many ages after the flood, far leſs to thoſe before it.—If we are deſired again, by the Doctor, to believe that the records of fifty myriads begin at the era of the man-fiſh Oannes, who firſt wrote the origin of all things; can we really be ſerious on ſuppoſitions, which ſeem only to ſubject learning to ridicule? — I ſhall make only one further remark, in reſpect to the day and ſolar years.—Had ſuch incongruous modes of calculation been in uſe among the Babylonians, muſt it not have been known to the Greeks in the time of Alexander? The philoſopher Calliſthenes, we are informed, ſent to his uncle Ariſtotle, Aſtronomical Obſervations, for 1903 years before the Macedonian con-

is poſſible, the learned author may eaſily remove. As this Grecian mode of tranſlating Oriental authors would undoubtedly be a ſecret worth having, I wiſh to be inſtructed, how they could turn the old Babylonian into Greek, without being able to read him? How

queſt. Could he, who procured theſe, have been ignorant of a peculiarity ſo ſtrange, as that of uſing the ſame word indiſcriminately for years and days? Might it not be expected, at leaſt, to have been mentioned? for ſurely theſe obſervations could never have been conſidered as a treaſure of antiquity, had they only extended to 1903 days. — It may again be ſaid, indeed, that this mode of computation, by large numbers, was confined to the remote hiſtory of their ſuppoſed Gods; the ſolar years being in every other reſpect in common uſe: but that does by no means ſeem to be juſt. For we find the ſame large numbers uſed with regard to aſtronomical calculations: Diodorus and other authors informing us, that the Chaldeans pretended to have made celeſtial obſervations for 473,000 years before Alexander: and, of theſe, it is probable, Calliſthenes ſent only what he thought to be genuine: conſidering the reſt, as merely the dreams of men vain of their antiquity. We poſſibly too might judge well, if, upon the ſame principles, every exaggerated figment of remote times, which neither record nor probability can reconcile with rational hiſtory, were allowed, undiſturbed, to poſſeſs the region of fable. For it is difficult, without pain, to turn over the vaſt volumes, which, in different ages, have been written on thoſe ſubjects; only to diſcover the reveries of the learned, and the miſapplication of great talents in *waſhing the blackamoor white.*

they could read him without knowing the beginning of the line from the end? And how they could contrive to go from right to left through the body of the work, ſo as to get at any thing like ſenſe; and then, all at once, by ſtrangely miſtaking a courſe they had ſo long followed, go quite the oppoſite way to work, and reverſe a whole dynaſty of kings? Not too, as we may obſerve, of mere ſolitary names; but each accompanied with deſcription, with anecdote, and with the exact duration of his reign? If the ingenious gentleman can but clear me up this pretty ſlight-of-hand way of boxing an author, as ſeamen do their compaſs, backwards and forwards, *erit mihi magnus Apollo.* †—Much erudition and induſtry, we muſt, in the mean time acknowledge, our author has diſplayed in the illuſtration of this hiſtory: and it is to be hoped, that nobody will be wicked enough to think, that the Laputa projector, who buſied himſelf in extracting Sun-beams from cucumbers, was half ſo rationally employed.

† It is by the ſame ingenious ſyſtem of alternate inverſion, that he cleanſes the Augean ſtable of Egyptian dynaſties. One indeed would almoſt think that his Greeks muſt have come freſh from ſtudying the βουστροφηδὸν ſtile of Sigean inſcriptions; and tranſlated, agreeable to this mode, one line to the right, and the next to the left, as the ox ploughs.

"GREAT reſpect," (let me conclude in the words of our learned author, Vol. III. p. 140. on the Syſtems of Pezron and Wiſe) "is cer-
"tainly due to men of learning; and a pro-
"per regard ſhould be paid to their memory.
"But they forfeit much of this eſteem, when
"they miſapply their talents; and put them-
"ſelves to thoſe ſhifts to ſupport an hypo-
"theſis. They may ſmile at their reveries,
"and plume themſelves on their ingenuity
"in finding out ſuch expedients: but no good
"can poſſibly ariſe from it; for the whole is
"a fallacy and impoſition. And a perſon
"who gets out of his depth, and tries to
"ſave himſelf by ſuch feeble ſupports, is
"like an ideot drowning: who laughs, and
"plunges, and catches at every ſtraw."

SECT. V.

Further obſervations on the Cuthite Syſtem; eſpecially on Etymological principles.

IN the preceding Sections, I have endeavoured, in a few inſtances, to ſhow the unſolid baſis of our learned author's *Syſtem*, upon Chronological and Hiſtorical grounds. I have endeavoured to ſhow how much he is, in a variety of reſpects, in oppoſition to Scripture; unſupported by profane hiſtory; and diſcountenanced by reaſon. I have endeavoured to ſhow, how vain and unſatisfactory the attempt muſt be, to illuſtrate the Sacred Writings, on points of ſuch high antiquity, by the wild incoherencies of a Beroſus and other ſuſpected writers: — ſeeking, indeed, *with taper light, the beauteous eye of heaven to garniſh.* — I ſhall now endeavour to ſhow, that the allegations, on the head of etymology, which he has made in the *Analyſis*, and repeated in the *Apology*, are equally groundleſs with the reſt.

He has ſaid, "That though his etymolo-
"gical Syſtem might be found contrary to
"truth, the hiſtory would ſpeak for itſelf;
"and, without thoſe helps, be authentica-
"ted." This caveat, as he calls it, did by no means eſcape me: But I could not acquieſce in the truth of the poſition. It is indeed boldly aſſerted. The learned gentleman is ſeldom embarraſſed with diffidence. And bold aſſertions, we all know, will ever find believers. Lord Peter, in the Tale of a Tub, took a fancy once to aſſert, that a large loaf, ſerved up to dinner, was excellent mutton. Martin and Jack, it is true, ventured to entertain ſome doubts. But his Lordſhip ſoon ſettled the matter conciſely thus: "Look ye,
"gentlemen, cries Peter in a rage, to con-
"vince you what a couple of blind, poſitive,
"ignorant puppies you are, I will uſe but
"this plain argument: by G—d it is true,
"good, natural mutton as any in Leadenhall
"Market; and G—d confound you both
"eternally if you offer to believe otherwiſe."
—The brothers were immediately ſatisfied: but, as there were ſtill ſome odd people, who could not ſo readily enter into Lord Peter's taſte: I hope the learned gentleman will allow me to heſitate, before I bring myſelf to his. For ſo little, in my apprehenſion,

will hiſtory aid his *Syſtem*; that it ſeems to be every where, as Shakeſpeare ſays, *frighten-ed from its propriety*; diverted from its ra-tional and received meaning; and unnaturally bent, by the help of ſtrained etymological de-finitions, to give a colouring to his pre-con-ceived opinions. The radicals may indeed be called the threads which ſew his ſhreds toge-ther. Cut them, and they fall to pieces. It is Etymology alone which gives to the whole a ſpecious appearance: and, indeed, where that proves ideal, the quotations in general might, with no greater violence, be employ-ed to illuſtrate the conqueſts of Alexander, or the voyages of Chriſtopher Columbus.

WHAT, in fact, but the arbitrary meanings, given by the learned author to places, in every corner of the globe; and which he has ſet up, like land-marks, to trace the Cuthites in all their fanciful expeditions; could ever have induced him to adopt the line of Ham for his heroes? And how ſtrong muſt this pre-poſſeſſion have been, when it could lead him to counteract, in a variety of reſpects, the very ſpirit of Scripture, upon which he, at the ſame time, profeſſedly builds? The poſteri-ty of Ham are expreſsly curſed by Noah, on account of the irreverence of their anceſtor; and doomed to be ſubſervient to the lines of

Shem and Japhet. Yet, in the *Analyſis*, they are made to overſpread the earth; to be great in worldly wiſdom; to give laws to the other branches of the Patriarch's family; and to be the ſtipes, in ſhort, from whence ſprung almoſt every god, legiſlator, prince, and hero of high antiquity.

One of the moſt rational arguments which the learned author brings, in ſupport of the univerſal deluge, is the ſtrong impreſſion, which, in the early ages, this judgment muſt have made upon the minds of men. Why then in the ſame breath, defeat this powerful argument, by confining this impreſſion entirely to the line of Ham; or rather to the ſons of Chus? Were not Japhet and Shem alſo in the Ark? Muſt not the awfulneſs of the ſcene have made an equal impreſſion upon them? And what reaſon is produced to lead us to imagine, that they would be leſs attentive to hand it down to their poſterity? The ſons of Japhet and Shem are repreſented, even by the learned author, as comparatively pious and obedient. Why then ſuppoſe, that they would be leſs grateful to Omnipotence, or more forgetful of their common anceſtor, than the deſcendants of the leſs virtuous brother? They were bleſſed: he was curſed. They were dutiful: he was impious. Yet all

the monuments, ſuppoſed to be commemorative of the great Patriarch, are made to originate entirely in the line of Ham. But, ought any thing, ſhort of undeniable evidence, to induce us to attribute to one branch, and that the leaſt promiſing, all the memorials of the deluge; all the veneration paid to Noah? Are thoſe who are moſt remarkable for impiety moſt diſtinguiſhed, in general, for filial duty? Are thoſe who venerate their parents the moſt apt to ſet heaven at defiance? Allowing, for a moment, that all the myſteries and ſymbols of ancient ſuperſtition, actually ſprung from a regular ſyſtem of grateful reverence for the great Patriarch; why exclude two thirds of his poſterity? Why, as I have ſaid, confine it almoſt wholly to the ſons of Chus? Would not the univerſality of the deluge, on ſuch principles, have been far more ſubſtantially eſtabliſhed, by ſuppoſing memorials of it to have been left by *all* the deſcendants of Noah: than by endeavouring to trace them to *one* family alone, confeſſedly the moſt perverſe, undutiful, and unbelieving of the whole patriarchal race? I think it muſt: and I ſee not, I confeſs, the conſiſtency, the uſefulneſs, the religion, or the morality of the oppoſite ſyſtem. [d]

WHERE, at the ſame time, is there even the ſhadow of evidence, without the aſſiſtance

of thoſe arbitrarily interpreted radicals, to prove, that the line of Ham was more peculiarly addicted to the worſhip of the Sun or of Fire, than any other people of the race of Adam? Take away thoſe fanciful names, which the learned author has given to the Sun, to temples, and to ceremonies; as derived from Ham, and other favourite words: and the whole, we ſhall find, I apprehend, to be grounded on aſſertion alone. For, if we are allowed to indulge ſurmiſes on thoſe inſcrutable periods of antiquity; and *muſt* fix upon a peculiar people, as the firſt introducers of the Solar worſhip; every preſumption, I think, muſt carry us to ſome branch of the line of Shem. For to them was the Eaſt allotted. In the Eaſt this religion chiefly prevailed. In Perſia, in particular, the Sun and the Fire were long their *only* Gods: whilſt the Egyptians, the Ethiopians, and other branches of the ſons of Ham, divided their attention between the great luminary and hundreds of the moſt abſurd and deſpicable of deities.

BUT, indeed, in every remote enquiry, where conjecture is our principal reſource, I am ſtrongly inclined to think, that the nearer we approach to common ſenſe, the broader muſt be our baſis, and the more ſolid our ſuperſtructure. Now, to account for the ado-

ration of the Sun, or of his repreſentative, Fire; I can ſee no neceſſity for recourſe to myſterious ſymbols, to hieroglyphics, to radicals, to Cuthites. Such ſeem only to be clouds and fogs, which obſcure the ſimpler rays of truth and reaſon. For, if we are to entertain the leaſt ſurprize on this ſubject, it ſhould, in my apprehenſion, rather proceed from the reflection, that this mode of worſhip, inſtead of being partial, was not, on the contrary, the univerſal religion of the world; before revelation, or deep reflection, had taught mankind to conceive the idea of an Omnipotent Being, ſtill ſuperior to that glorious ſtar. Could a creature, whoſe faculties were limited, and whoſe only guide was nature, behold, without a mixture of gratitude and delight, the diurnal revolution of the Sun; who, to him, muſt ſeem to riſe only, for acts of kindneſs to every ſurrounding object? Cheered, warmed, enlightened, all nature reviving at his appearance; can we wonder that ſimple men, in the days of ignorance, ſhould have viewed a being, ſo apparently beneficent, as the Divine Ruler of the world? And can we wonder, that, in conſequence of this pre-conception, they ſhould have paid to him the moſt unaffected and enthuſiaſtic adoration?!

WHILST we may eaſily too, on the ſame

general principles, account for the veneration paid to the Moon and Stars: the various ſyſtems of Monſter-worſhip, and other ſhocking rites, which diſgraced the Pagan world, could not, ſeemingly, originate wholly in the ſimplicity of human nature. The terror and ſuperſtition of the body of the people, muſt, by degrees, have been made ſubſervient to the art and the impoſture of the deſigning few. Caverns, groves, and other ſequeſtered places, the natural gloom of which ſtrikes horror into fearful minds; would, on favourable occaſions, be poſſeſſed by the bold and the artful: and theſe could find but little difficulty in perſuading timid ignorance; that the nocturnal howlings; the roaring of pent-up winds; the guſhing of unſeen waters; and the reverberating echoes of every terrifying ſound; were the voices of ſupernatural beings, threatening them with deſtruction for their impiety; which nothing but offerings to the deities could avert. It is unneceſſary here to purſue the idea. But, when we reflect, in general, on the various cauſes, which might have given birth to ſuch ſuperſtitions; and upon the eaſe with which, in all times, the people have been deceived by what they did not know; I think there is no occaſion to reſort to the Cuthites, even for ſuch

abominable rites, as have rendered human nature contemptible.

THAT the learned gentleman ſupports his Syſtem chiefly by names, ſuppoſed to be derived from the Patriarchs, and from a fanciful combination of other radicals; might be demonſtrated, by as many examples almoſt as there are pages in his book. They abound every where. In many, I have already ſhewn, he has been much miſtaken: in many more, the etymologies are to the laſt degree ſuſpicious: and, even in the few, where, by mere dint of gueſſing, perchance he may be right, they muſt be too feeble to ſupport any hypotheſis whatever. He has ſuppoſed, in his *Apology*, that, becauſe I only pointed to about one half of his radicals, as erroneous, the other half muſt, of conſequence, be right. * But I do not ſee the force of this logic. It is

* "It is there ſaid of the radicals produced by me, *half at leaſt* do not come up to the meaning, which I aſſign. From hence we muſt neceſſarily conclude, that the remainder do anſwer, and come up to the meaning. As he mentions *half at leaſt*, we will for charity's ſake throw a ſmall weight into the lighter ſcale, to bring it to an equipoiſe: and ſuppoſe them in round numbers half. And if this really be the caſe, I will compromiſe the affair, and gladly give up the other half without any diſpute: for this conceſſion is ſufficiently in my favour." *Apol.* p. 87.

a conceſſion, which I have no where made: for indeed I never could do it with truth. But were I even to admit it, what benefit could his Syſtem poſſibly derive from it? For, if names, ſuppoſed to be formed of various particles, are analyſed; and if the whole component parts are not juſtly explained; a miſtake in one, may lead us as far from the true ſignification, as if every member had been wrong. If, for example, the point is to prove, that *Cephale*, or *Ain Arez*, received their denominations from *Solar Worſhip*; becauſe *Caph-el* implied the *Mountain of the Sun*, and *Ain Arez* the *Solar Fountain*; it will be of little conſequence, whether *Caph* denotes a Hill, or *Ain* a Fountain; unleſs *El* and *Arez* at the ſame time ſignify the *Sun*. For, if there is no evidence produced of this, the train of deduction muſt fall of courſe. And indeed the whole idea ſeems to be ſomething like the apology of the apothecary, who had unluckily poiſoned a patient, by mixing pernicious ingredients in his draught—"Some of them, "he allowed, might have been noxious: but "he was ſure the reſt were uncommonly "wholeſome." [h]

THE learned author will ſtill perhaps talk of his Amonian, and call it the original language of man: and inſiſt, that, in *it*, theſe

words *might* have had ſuch and ſuch meanings; though they are now no where to be found in the exiſting tongues. Yet this, it muſt be allowed, would afford, at beſt, but a ſad foundation for a ſtupendous *Syſtem*: and the improbability of the whole might be very ſafely reſted upon it. But I ſhall go further, and conſider, how far there is even a poſſibility, that the original language of man, (were a miracle to reveal it to our knowledge) could be of the leaſt uſe in ſuch enquiries. It will not, I hope, be diſputed, that the Confuſion of Tongues was the immediate fore-runner of the Babel Diſperſion: after which the language of the world became diverſified into many dialects; with what degree of difference or analogy to the original, we are left entirely to opinion. If the Diviſion of the Earth did not take place till the Diſperſion, it is evident, there could not be one city or place, by land or by water, which had then received its name. For Babel itſelf was ſo called, ſubſequent to the Confuſion; as we learn from Gen. xi. 9. But, ſuppoſing even, with the learned author, that the Migration was previous to the Diſperſion, ſtill the names of places muſt have been few: they muſt apparently have been involved in the general confuſion; and muſt have been forgot-

ten, as well as the other parts of the original tongue. Idolatry, we may alſo obſerve, to the inveſtigation of which he chiefly wiſhes to apply this original tongue, did not, even in his own opinion, make its appearance in the world, till the days of Serug; many ages after the Confuſion of Tongues. Falſe gods, temples, rites, and every circumſtance of ſuperſtition, muſt, of conſequence, have been wholly unknown, whilſt the original language was in uſe. And when mankind became ſcattered over the earth, every new object they ſaw: all the works of their hands: every invention in ſciences and arts: every inſtitution of government or religion: muſt have all received their names in the various dialects, which the different tribes carried with them at the Diſperſion; or afterwards improved. With what propriety then can he bewilder our ſenſes, by pretending to reſort to a language, which was annihilated, long before the names, which are attempted to be traced to it, had a being? When we call in the aid of language in our enquiries into primitive times, (which, judiciouſly done, may undoubtedly aſſiſt diſcovery) we ſhould naturally have recourſe chiefly to ſuch dialects, as, before the exiſtence of record, were ſpoken in the countries where the ſcene of our inveſtigation lies.

And here inconteſtibly, in reſpect to the principal ſubjects of the *Analyſis*, inſtead of applying to an *ignis fatuus*, as our learned author has done; the preference ſhould have been given to the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Chaldaic, the Syriac, the oldeſt known languages in the world: if indeed, from the ſame peculiar radical formation, and the infinite number of words which are common to all, they may not, with more propriety, be called dialects of the ſame tongue, than different languages. [1]

BUT, in truth, before we can preſume to build at all upon names, we ought evidently to bring very convincing proof of the preciſe manner in which the natives themſelves have written them: and alſo, that they were in being at the period to which our attention is directed: as we may otherwiſe go upon names, which never exiſted, but in corruption: or, which were not known till hundreds, perhaps thouſands, of years poſterior to the epocha of our reſearches. What a change in names, from fancy, from conqueſt, from corruption, do we not obſerve within theſe laſt two thouſand years? Let us traverſe the whole of the ancient claſſic ground, and then throw our eye over a modern map of the ſame countries: Is there one name, almoſt in an hundred,

which we can trace to a reſemblance? And have we not reaſon to ſuppoſe, that they were equally fluctuating, at leaſt, in times more ancient; when records were but few? How vague then muſt every inveſtigation of this kind prove, till we poſitively know the original radical word? Yet this ſeldom appears to have been an object of conſideration in the *Analyſis*. Though the learned author is perpetually aſſuring us, that the Greeks were, of all people in the world, the greateſt corruptors of foreign names; yet it is almoſt entirely from their mode of writing, ſometimes indeed fancifully altered, without authority, that he analyſes Eaſtern words: giving often to Aſiatic names Grecian meanings; though his profeſſed purpoſe is to diſinvolve the whole from Grecian error. The ancient places, which he deduces from the word *Arca*, tho' apparently not known in any language earlier than the Latin, are out of all number. To ſupport a new and very extraordinary ſyſtem, in reſpect to Cadmus, de derives the name from *Achad Ham*, the *noble lord Ham* †.

† "That Cadmus was the ſame as Ham, will appear "from the etymology of his name. I have before ſhewn, "that the Sun was ſtiled Achad, Achon, and Achor; "and the name of which we are treating is a compound of

And, to trace the Amonians even to China, he brings examples of places, which, in all probability, had no exiſtence before the conqueſts of Jengiz Khan; and which are, at the ſame time, ſuch mere European corruptions, that the people themſelves could never know them. Amongſt others, he introduces the Tartaro-Chineſe city *Cambalu*, mentioned by Marco Paolo, the Venetian traveller. But we may

"Achad-Ham, rendered by the Greeks Acadamus and Aca-"demus, and contracted Cadmus." Vol. II. p. 157. Here is one, among numberleſs inſtances, of concluſions being drawn from premiſes, alledged to have been pre-eſtabliſhed; which however, when examined, have no other bottom than the learned author's aſſertion. We are, in this place, referred for evidence, that Achad was the Sun, to p. 76. of Vol. I. but, after looking with ſome attention, not only to that page, but through the whole ſection, I could not even diſcover the name, till I came to p. 83; where I found theſe words: "The Deity was likewiſe called "Achad and Achon." Juſt one unproved aſſertion ſupported by another. But thus it is, almoſt through the whole *Syſtem*. A ſuppoſition is ſometimes made: ſometimes the circumſtance is deciſively averred: and ſometimes a proof is attempted, which fails perhaps in the moſt eſſential part. Yet to ſuch ground-works he conſtantly refers. *I have already demonſtrated: it has been formerly proved*: and ſimilar phraſes, occur in every page: and he reaſons from them with as much complacency, as if they were equally ſelf-evident as mathematical axioms.

as eaſily find the etymology of *Conſtantinople* in the Turkiſh corruption *Iſtambol*. The real name of *Cambalu* is *Khan balik*; which, in the Tartar language, means the *imperial city*, or the *reſidence of the Khan*. This place is ſuppoſed to be Pekin. There is another town in Little Bukharia, mentioned by Abulgazi Khan, called *Kham Balik*; which, he ſays, ſignifies, in the Mogul tongue, The *Good City* *. [1]

AMONG other endeavours, to trace the travels and ſettlements of the Cuthites, by the aſſiſtance of names, there are none which the learned author builds upon, with greater confidence, than thoſe which he ſuppoſes to have been derived from *Noah*, from the *Ark*, and from *Chus*: I ſhall offer a few reaſons for conceiving him to be radically wrong in them all. In the firſt place, in order to eſtabliſh a variety of ſtrange allegories, and to diſcover an analogy between Noah, and numberleſs perſons and places, he goes againſt every received opinion; and makes the Greek ναῦς or νοῦς

* The ſame obſervation will hold, with regard to *Campion*, *Cambaiar*, and the other places he enumerates; which, however corrupted, are obviouſly formed, in part, either from *Khan* or *Kham*. But, indeed, we muſt think it ſomewhat odd, how he ſhould have brought ſuch words at all in proof of his hypotheſis; when, in another place, he obſerves, that names in China are ſubject to perpetual change. Vid. Myth. Vol. III. p. 557. 568.

the *mind* to have been Noah: and under this he imagines much latent meaning to have been couched. "Dios (he obſerves, "Vol. II. p. 274.) was the ancient term "from whence came the word Deus: and "the name of Dionuſus relates not to νους "mens, but to Nuſos, Noah; being a com- "pound of Dios-Nuſos, for ſo his name was "properly expreſſed. Hence Philoſtratus ſays, "Νυσιος ὁ Διονυσος απο της εν Ινδοις Νυσης ονομαζεται. "This, as I have obſerved, is ſo far true, "that Dionuſus was ſtiled Nuſius and Nu- "ſus; and explains the compoſition of the "former term. But it was not from the "city of Nuſa in India, nor from any of "the cities called Nuſa, for there were ma- "ny, that he had his name: on the con- "trary, they were all denominated from "him. And this name was expreſſed Noa, "Noos, Nous, Nus, Nuſus; and otherwiſe "varied. This the Grecians might have "known, but they ſeem induſtriouſly to have "adopted it in a wrong ſenſe: and in conſe- "quence of it, numberleſs abſurdities have "ariſen to the ruin of much good hiſtory." And to the reſpectable catalogue of theſe ab- ſurdities, the learned gentleman ſeems indeed to have added very conſiderably. I mean not however, at preſent, to embark upon ſuch an

ocean: but ſhall only, as a prelude to a few obſervations, requeſt of him to turn to p. 314 of his third Volume, and apply to himſelf the remarks he has there made upon Euſebius, Scaliger, Sir John Marſham, and others. "They ſet out upon theſe facts as "firſt principles; though they are the things, "which want moſt to be canvaſſed: and "when they have too inconſiderately made "theſe aſſumptions, they put a force upon "all other hiſtory, that it may be brought "to accord." *

Now where have we, in reſpect to Noah, the firſt principles eſtabliſhed? Where have we any proof, that in any ancient language he was ever called Noas, Nous, or Nuſus? In the Hebrew, as well as in the Chaldee paraphraſe, the name is written נח *Nuh.* In the Hebrew-Samaritan and the Chaldee-Samaritan 𐤍𐤇 *Nuh.* In the Syriac ܢܘܚ *Nuh.* In the Arabic نوح *Nuh.* In the Septuagint Νωε. And in the Latin *Noë.*—Now theſe being the oldeſt languages that we know, and employed in the original and verſions of the Sacred Writings, they ſeem to be the only ſources to which we can be authorized to go for the name of the patriarch: yet our learned author, *ſuo periculo*, derives, from Noah, *Nyſſa*, *Nuſa*, *Neſſa*, with numberleſs other

places, where ſuch ſounds are either ſimple or compounded with other words: and diſcovers, at the ſame time, a relationſhip between him and every god or hero of antiquity; but eſpecially with thoſe, whoſe names end in *nus* or *nuſus*, or any ſimilar termination.—*Dionuſus* was the Patriarch; becauſe his name ſhewed him to be the God Noah; becauſe he was a great conqueror: and becauſe he planted, in many countries, the vine!—*Saturnus* was alſo the Patriarch; becauſe he was the ſower Noah; and becauſe he had four eyes; and becauſe he was the father of the royal triad, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto! *Cro-nus* was Noah; becauſe he was alſo the father of the royal triad!—*Ja-nus* was Noah; becauſe he had an old face and a young one; and becauſe he had a ſtick, and a key, and a ſhip, and a temple!—*Prometheus* was Noah; becauſe *vus* was ſometimes added to his name; becauſe he was guardian of Egypt when there was a great overflowing of the Nile; and becauſe Minerva co-operated with him in making men and women of clay!—*Sile-nus* was Noah; becauſe his name in old Greek was the maſculine of the Moon; becauſe the Moon was a type of the Ark; and becauſe he was a great prophet, and wrote a hiſtory of the world!—The whole range, in a word, of the old divinities, heroes, and

lawgivers, are diſcovered to have been Noah; and the features of reſemblance are equally new and ſtriking. Some are Noah (as Oſiris) becauſe they went over the world with great armies! ſome (as Poſeidon) becauſe they were huſbandmen! ſome (as Zeus) becauſe they made fermented liquors! and ſome, (as Perſeus) becauſe they were expoſed in Arks! I marvel indeed, how Moſes eſcaped compariſon: for he was undoubtedly expoſed in an ark; he was a prophet; he inſtructed mankind; and had a reſemblance to Noah, many may imagine, fully as ſubſtantial as any in the catalogue. I really think too our friend Ovid might well have put in his claim: for he was called Naſo, a mere tranſpoſition of *Naos*, Noah; and this, at the ſame time, might explain, in a ſatisfactory manner, the undoubted etymology of the important word *noſe*.—*Proteus*, among many others, is alſo deemed Noah: and there is certainly humour in this: for the old god never went through more metamorphoſes than the great poſtdiluvian father of mankind has experienced in the hands of our learned author.—Eh! qui ſait ſi ce beau Syſteme n'eſt pas, tout au long, un fort joli badinage?!

I AM apprehenſive, that we ſhall not meet

with more ſucceſs, upon etymological principles, in reſpect to a number of perſons and places; to whoſe names, he pretends to trace what he calls Arkite ceremonials, and derivations. We find Argo and the Argonauts, Arcas, Arcadia, Arcades, Acriſius, Acropolis, Arcaſius, Arecca, Erec; Argos, Argolis, Argæus, and many more: all which he derives from Arca, the ark. To ſupport ſuch a variety of derivations, upon which, indeed, ſome of the moſt valuable topics in the Analyſis entirely depend; we ſhould naturally have expected evidence, that the Ark had been pronounced, in a manner ſomewhat like thoſe names, in ſome, at leaſt, of the more ancient tongues. But, till the Latin, comparatively a late language, no ſuch word appears to have been known: whilſt the names, in general referred to, are of very high antiquity. In the Hebrew, the Ark of Noah is written תבה *tibeh*. In the Chaldaic תיבותא *tibuta*. In the Hebrew-Samaritan 𐤕𐤁𐤄 *tibeh*. In the Chaldee-Samaritan 𐤕𐤉𐤁𐤅𐤕𐤀 *tibuteh*. In the Syriac ܬܝܒܘܬܐ *kibouta*. In the Arabic تابوت *tabout*. In the Septuagint κιβωτος. Had theſe ancient places ever received their names from the Ark; they muſt apparently have had a reſemblance to ſome of the words mentioned above: but never could be deno-

minated from a language, which was not known till many ages after theſe names were common. Yet, wonderful is the ſuperſtructure raiſed, without the leaſt diffidence, upon this etymological baſis. Even Hercules is thence demonſtrated to be Noah; for the learned author ſays, (Vol. III. p. 507.) "From hence the Grecians and Romans denominated a perſonage, whom they ſtiled "Heracles and Hercules. But the original "was Arclus, and Arcalus; and ſtill more "truly without the termination Arca-El. It "was not a name, but a title: and given by "the Sidonians and other people in the Eaſt, "to the principal perſon preſerved in the Deluge; and it ſignified the great Arcalean or "Arkite." He might, with as much truth, have told us, that Hercules was Hurlothrumbo.—But it is impoſſible to enter into all the perplexities, which, upon this hypotheſis, he has introduced into Ancient Mythology and Hiſtory. They are all, indeed, not excepting even the greateſt part of his boaſted Argonautic Expedition, mere waking dreams: *tales, full of ſound and fury, ſignifying nothing.*

AMONGST other attempts which the learned gentleman has made to unhinge all received hiſtory, is his endeavour to remove the

Scythians from thoſe Northern regions, where all the writers of Greece have placed them, in order to transform them into Cuthites, and tranſplant them into Babylonia. He has indeed told many a ſad ſtory of the Greeks. He has already ſaid, that they did not know their right hands from their left. He is now labouring to prove, that they did not know the North from the South. And I ſhould not be ſurprized, if, in his third edition, he attempted to prove, by the help of his friend Sam Joel, that they did not know a *town-bull* from a *turnip*. †[n]

† Our learned author, to uſe an ingenious phraſe of his own, (note p. 461) *teems with* wit *even to a degree of ſuper-fœtation*. And there is nothing he will not do to ſhow it, He will even employ his great genius in piddling away at verbal criticiſm, to prepare the reader *pour un tour d'eſprit*. I had called the Deluge an important *era*: and moſt people may think, perhaps, that I was not very wrong. Now, though not a pin's point of argument could reſt upon the word, in reſpect to the ſubject in queſtion (to ſhow which, in the preſent edition, p. 107. I have changed it to *event*, without in the leaſt altering the ſenſe of the whole); yet the ingenious gentleman, we ſee, has actually taken the advice of counſellor Joel, and indicted the inoffenſive word for a treſpaſs. "It is plain at firſt ſight, that he "takes the fact, and the *era* of the fact, for one and the "ſame thing: and time and circumſtance are eſteemed "ſynonymous. It is certain (I know not how truly)

OUR author obſerves, (Pref. to Vol. I. p. ix.) "It will be one part of my labour to "treat of the Phenicians, whoſe hiſtory has "been much miſtaken: alſo of the Scythians, "whoſe original has been hitherto a ſecret. "From ſuch an elucidation many good conſe- "quences will, I hope, enſue: as the Pheni- "cians and Scythians have hitherto afforded "the uſual place of retreat for ignorance to "ſhelter itſelf."

Now the learned gentleman, who, in his *Apology*, has often mentioned his veneration for Logic, muſt certainly be informed of a

"that we are apt in general to make a material diſtinction "between them. We are taught to think, that an event, "and the date of the event, convey two diſtinct ideas. "Which ever ſide may be in the right, the inquiry is "certainly curious: and deſerves to be proſecuted. To "be therefore certain of the truth, I applied to an honeſt "countryman, one Sam Joel, in my neigbourhood, that "I might have, not a learned, but a plain and rational "ſolution of the queſtion. Pray, ſays I, honeſt Sam, do "not you believe, that there is ſome difference between a "man and a month; between ſheep-ſhearing and the "tenth of June? Why really, Sir, ſays he, I do not "quite ſee, what you drive at. Why then, ſays I, take "it in another light. Do not you think my Lord Mayor "is different from my Lord Mayor's day? Ay maſter, "ſays he, to be ſure: as different as a *town-bull* from a "*turnip*. I mention this, becauſe I think arguments

fundamental maxim, "That no concluſions "in argument can be juſt, where the pre- "miſſes are not previouſly demonſtrated to be "true." I have already given ſome reaſons for thinking, that this golden rule has not always been religiouſly attended to in the *Analyſis*: and here, I am afraid, it may be equally difficult to be diſcovered. As a fundamental point, which he conceives to be too obvious to require evidence, he tells us, that *Chus* and *Cuth* are the ſame; the laſt being merely the Chaldaic manner of writing it. But, as he has not thought it neceſſary to

"taken from unſophiſticated reaſon are far more forcible, "than thoſe which are framed by art and logic: and even "than thoſe, which are founded upon non-experience." *Apology*, p. 73.—Now, after all, honeſt Sam Joel ſeems rather to have been taken in here. I am afraid there has been a flaw in the brief. His learned friend has hardly ſtated the caſe quite fair. And Sam may tell him, perhaps, at their next chat, that the *glorious firſt of Auguſt* has as little connexion with the *acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover*, or with the *Battle of Minden*, as my Lord Mayor has with his day: but that, nevertheleſs, when he drinks this toaſt, he wiſhes always heartily well to his king and country. Sam may alſo hint to him, that he might poſſibly be, at times, a little puzzled, were he to take every thing *au pied de la lettre*: for ſhould his learned friend be deſired at any time to drink a bottle, he might find it, perhaps, a little hard, to be obliged to ſwallow the flaſk.

ſupport the poſition, I cannot think it neceſſary to believe it: and although it may not be incumbent upon me to prove a negative, where no affirmative has been attempted, I ſhall juſt offer a few reaſons, why I imagine it to be groundleſs.

THE ſons of Cuſh, by all writers, I believe, till our learned author patronized them, have been conſidered as the woolly-headed natives of Ethiopia, and other African diſtricts. And in this ſenſe I think we ſhall uniformly find כוש *Chus* or *Cuſh* to be uſed in Scripture; whilſt כתם (Heb.) *Chutim* Pure gold; כות *Chut* (Chald.) As, like; and כותה *Cuthah* The people whom Salmanaſſar ſent from Aſſyria or Chaldea, to inhabit Samaria after the Captivity of the ten tribes of Iſrael; are very different words: and never, at any time, confounded with *Cuſh*. The Chaldees or Babylonians are in Scripture written כשדים *Cheſdim*, the plural of כשך *Cheſed*; ſuppoſed by Walton, Hyde, and others, to have been ſo named, from *Cheſed* the ſon of Nahor, brother to Abraham. The Chaldee paraphraſe writes it כסדאי *Cheſdai*. The Hebrew-Samaritan ܟܣܕܝܡ *Cheſdim*. In Daniel (ch. i. 4.) where there is a mixture of Chaldee and Perſian, it is כשדי *Cheſdi*; in the Syriac ܟܠܕܝܐ *Chaldoie*; and in the Arabic كسدايين *Keſ-*

dayin.—Every circumſtance relative to Cuſh is quite diſtinct. In the Chaldee paraphraſe it is כוש *Chuſh*; in Chaldee-Samaritan ܟܘܫ *Cuſh*; in Syriac ܟܘܫ *Cuſh*; and in Arabic حبش *Habeſh* or حبشة *Habſhet*: and wherever tranſlated, it is rendered *The Ethiopian.*—If the learned gentleman has got more powerful evidence, he will do right to produce it. Till then, he will be equally ſucceſsful in perſuading me, that *John*, *James*, and *Joſeph*, are the ſame names; becauſe, like *Cuſh*, *Cutah*, and *Cheſdim*, they begin with the ſame letter. Indeed ſuch authorities, to which may be added Buxtorf and other Lexicons, muſt, I think, in the mind of every man, whoſe only object is impartiality, ſtrike deciſively againſt the baſis of his Syſtem; which is untenable, in fact, upon almoſt every ground; and even againſt the very name of *Cuthites*, as connected with the ſons of *Cuſh*.

THE learned gentleman, I may here obſerve, ſeems to be a little troubled, becauſe I have called his favourite people, in general, *Cuthites*, and not likewiſe Amonians *. As

* "The Amonians, of whom he ſpeaks, were collectively the offspring of Amon, the ſame as Ham. Why does he limit the title to the Cuthites, who were one branch only; when it related to the whole family? It is

I look upon them merely as the ephimerides of a day, it certainly matters very little how they are named. Yet, methinks, he muſt have been much at a loſs for ſubſtantial faults, when he blamed me for having, in this reſpect, followed implicitly the lead of their godfather. Upon re-conſidering the point, however, I really cannot ſee what pretenſions the Cuthites, in any light, have to the name of Amonians; as this general denomination could only, with propriety, ſuit the whole family. The great bent of his Syſtem, is to make the Cuthites diſtinct and ſeparate from all their collaterals. They were not in league with the other branches of Ham. They were joined only, as he informs us, by ſome ſtraggling apoſtates; and theſe indiſcriminately from the lines of Shem and Japhet, as well as from that of Ham. If ever a people on earth, then, according to every characteriſtic which he gives us of them, ſhould have been ſtrictly and invariably denominated by their own peculiar patronymic, it muſt have been the Sons of Cuſh. He

true, that I admire his vivacity, and quickneſs in deciding, though I ſmart for it. Yet it is a pity, as he teems with words even to a degree of ſuperfœtation, that he is not as curious as abundant." *Apology*, p. 68. Our author is full of humour on every point.

paints them as the lawleſs and unprovoked invaders of the inheritance of others; and the Mizraim, he tells us, were amongſt the firſt whom they attacked, ſubdued, and oppreſſed. How indefinite and improper then does the Amonian name become, when applied to the Cuthites alone? Where is the actual term of diſtinction between them and the families of Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan? Might he not, with almoſt equal reaſon, call them Noachites? Might he not go even a ſtep further, and call them Lamechites? Might he not, indeed, go upwards through the whole antediluvian line, to the father of mankind? For they might, with nearly equal accuracy, be ſtiled Adamites, as Amonians; a name which could never diſcriminate them from thoſe very people, with whom they are ſuppoſed to have been chiefly at variance.

Before I take leave of this head, I ſhall juſt make an obſervation or two on a mode of quotation, too often adopted by ſyſtematic writers; of inſerting juſt as much only of a paſſage as ſuits their views; and omitting or reprobating the reſt. Our author, in order to prove that the Chaldeans and Perſians were of the line of Cuſh; and that they were all Scythians, ſays, (Vol. III. p. 177.) "The "prophet Iſaiah diſtinguiſhes thoſe nations

" very accurately, when he mentions a re-
" turn of the captives from *Elam*, *Chus*, and
" *Shinar*. This country is alſo ſaid to have
" been called Scutha; and the author of the
" Chronicon Paſchale mentions Scuthæ in
" theſe parts, who were ſo called even in
" his days. But he ſuppoſes, that the name
" Scutha was given to the region, on ac-
" count of I know not what, Scythians from
" the North." Now the prophet ſeems clear-
ly here *, to mean the recovery of the rem-
nant of the people; not from one or two par-
ticular regions; but from every place where
they may have been in bondage. Why then
mention only three of thoſe places, and be
ſilent on all the reſt? For no other reaſon,
in my apprehenſion, but to impreſs us with
the idea, that Cuſh alone being mentioned
along with Elam and Shinar (generally ima-
gined to be Perſia and Chaldea) the country
of the Cuthites might be readily ſuppoſed to
have been ſomewhere in their neigbourhood.
Whilſt, on the contrary, the inſerting of

* " And it ſhall come to paſs in that day, that the Lord ſhall ſet his hand again the ſecond time, to recover the remnant of the people which ſhall be left, from Aſſyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathos, and from Cuſh, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the iſlands of the ſea." Iſaiah ch. xl. 11.

Egypt and Pathos, by directing our attention towards Ethiopia, muſt have left us at no loſs for the reſidence of the ſons of Cuſh; and, conſequently, have overturned the whole hypotheſis, which he has been there endeavouring to eſtabliſh.

In reſpect again to the Chronicon, he rejects preciſely the words which make the whole probable. It is there expreſſly ſaid, that theſe Scythians came from the North; a circumſtance, which, if true, may be eaſily accounted for. In old times, wars were long waged, with various ſucceſs, between the Perſians, and the Scythians or Turanians. The Perſians themſelves acknowledge, that their empire was, at one time, for ſome years, under the Turanian yoke. Bodies of thoſe people might, in conſequence, have naturally enough eſtabliſhed themſelves in various parts of their new conqueſts. And, when the Perſian kings recovered their independency, they might neither judge it neceſſary nor political, to depopulate their provinces; by driving out colonies, which, by proper management, would ſoon become naturalized and valuable ſubjects.

Upon the whole, as I always wiſh to prefer the learned gentleman's own words, when

appoſite, to any which I can throw together, I ſhall beg leave to make free with a few more, which he has addreſſed to M. Pezron: (ſubſtituting only *Scythic* and *Cuthites*, for *Celtic* and *Sacæ*) "Thus is this fairy viſion "brought to an end"—"The whole *Scythic* "ſyſtem is ruined: for the *Cuthites*, upon "whom it depended, are ſtopped in their ca- "reer, and no more heard of: and all this from "the authorities to which he appeals. Such "too frequently are the quotations made uſe "of by people of an eager diſpoſition; which, "as they are introduced, anſwer but in part; "when examined, are totally repugnant. His "reaſoning throughout is carried on by a "chain, of which not one link is fairly con- "nected."

IT muſt be confeſſed, at the ſame time, that there is not a little humour in our learned author's going gravely round the world; and picking up his *ons*, and his *els*, and his *urs*; his *ſans*, and his *bals*, and his *bams*: and, after huſtling them all together, producing them to us, curiouſly variegated, inlaid, and hooked one with another: and then telling us, with a moſt engaging preſence of mind, that ſuch a name on the Malabar coaſt muſt have preciſely ſuch a meaning; becauſe *On*, an Egyptian particle, is actually ſuppoſed to have been the

Sun: and, that we cannot ſurely queſtion the derivation of a Chineſe town, when we conſider, that *Ham* and the Babyloniſh *Baal* are ſtrongly ſuſpected to have been the *Sun* alſo. When we find, at the ſame time, theſe diſcoveries, not merely hazarded as reveries, but conſidered as too obvious to need interpretation *: I really think we need not be much aſtoniſhed, if a fancy ſo lively and creative, ſhould, in a fourth volume, demonſtrate to us, in a manner equally ſatisfactory; that the only real ancient religion was the *worſhip of Broomſticks:* and that every language on earth, was actually derived from the *Dutch.* When we obſerve, indeed, *Satur-nus* brought from Noah; *Cadmus* from *Ham,* and *Eudoreſchus* from *Chus*; we cannot well help recollecting Swift's idea of tracing the old Greek and Trojan names to the Britiſh iſles; and giving *Andrew Mackie* as the radix of *Andromache*; *Patrick Lees,* of *Patrocles*; or *Buſy fellows,* of *Bucephalus.* And, indeed, I am ſometimes inclined to think, that, had the recapture of Calcutta been only placed ſome

* "We read of Onor, Canonor, Candonor, all terms relating to the Sun and Fire. Calicut, Calcutta, Cotate, Comar, Comarin, Cottia, Cathaia, are of an etymology too obvious to need an interpretation." Vol. III. p. 207.

thouſands of years earlier in the annals of the world, the learned author would have co-incided perfectly in opinion with our honeſt tars; that the Nabob *Suraja Dowla* was by no means an Indian prince, but a very genuine Engliſh knight, by the ſtile and title of *Sir Roger Dowlas.*

But I muſt draw to a concluſion. When I ſent the firſt of theſe ſheets to preſs, I intended to have touched upon ſeveral points, which more important engagements oblige me now to decline. I meant, in particular, to have conſidered the learned gentleman's ideas of the Atlantides, the Argonauts, and the Amazons; of Perſeus, Hercules, Orpheus, Cadmus; with whom, as well as with many more of our old ſchool-friends, he has played the very devil; or, which is worſe, he has metamorphoſed them into Cuthites. Well! after all, theſe Cuthite woolly heads are the handyeſt fellows imaginable. They are a wonderful menſtruum. There is not a difficulty in ancient times which they do not diſſolve at once. Like quack medicines, they cure all diſeaſes. They are ſet a-ſcampering over every inch of old heroic ground. They cut the throats of half the world, and cram the reſt with ſcience. They are, in ſhort, *Mungo here, Mungo there, Mungo every where.* Indeed,

indeed, I am much afraid they have been put to rather too hard duty; and are, at length, thrown into a galloping conſumption. In charity then, I think their learned ſire ſhould prepare with decency for their interment. And if he has got never a better epitaph, he may take the hint from the firſt creation of his favourite Belus:

THE ANIMALS

SO LATELY CREATED,

UNABLE TO BEAR THE PREVALENCE OF LIGHT,

DIED.

SECT. VI.

CONCLUSION.

AS the learned gentleman, towards the end of his *Apology*, has ſuddenly changed from the third perſon, and apoſtrophized me in the firſt, I ſhall do myſelf the honour of imitating him at a reſpectful diſtance.

I BEG leave, Sir, to return you my beſt acknowledgments for the kind notice you have taken of me. I have only my concern to expreſs for one circumſtance; and that indeed is for your own reputation: to which I think you have not been ſufficiently attentive. So excellent a performance as your *Apology*, ſhould not have been circulated in ſo private a manner. There are many good things in it, which it were a pity ſhould be ſo much loſt to the public. I flatter myſelf you will reflect upon this; and make it the prologue or epilogue to the third edition of your *Analyſis*. And this, let me tell you, may anſwer, at the ſame time, another good purpoſe. It will place it more in ſecurity

from pirates: for really, in its preſent fugitive ſtate, it is greatly to be feared, that the proprietors of *Joe Millar's Jeſts*, or *The Pills to purge Melancholly*, may think it fair game; and enrich their facetious publications with your *Coſtive Lord*, *Sam Joel*, *Dr. Baldero*, and many more of your very beſt things:— if indeed they have them not already; which I have, at preſent, no opportunity of learning.

If I have not paid a proper attention to every valuable obſervation, with which your *Apology* abounds, I beg you will attribute it to the true cauſe; want of time. You have, among other things, repeatedly obſerved, that I had borrowed from you largely; and I really thought that I had, in return, made every acknowledgment and reference uſual on ſuch occaſions. But as you do not ſeem to have ſo conceived it, I ſhall requeſt your permiſſion to inſert an exact bill of parcels in the notes. Indeed your zeal, upon this occaſion, is moſt commendable: for, as Horace ſays,

> *—— ſi fortè ſuas repetitum venerit olim*
> *Grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula riſum*
> *Furtivis nudata coloribus.*

You, Sir, I am ſenſible, have judged more prudently than I have done. You have ſteered clear of live authors. You have made free only with the dead; and they tell no tales.

They are not clamorous creditors. They briſtle not up their porcupine quills. Theſe, without acknowledgment, you may borrow from and abuſe. They ſtill are ſilent.

YOUR flattering compliment on my veneration for ignorance, is alſo conveyed with your uſual pleaſantry *. Indeed, Sir, I know but little: and it is natural enough to like what aſſimilates with one's own ideas. Upon the preſent great occaſion too, I am afraid, I have helped rather to confirm your opinion: for, had I been at all wiſe, I ſhould certainly have called in the aſſiſtance of my learned friends; to have enabled me to make a ſhow above my own ſlender means. But, juſt as I was thinking of this, happening to read in old Æſop, how the gnat went boldly to attack the lion; and how he tickled the lion's noſtril; and how the lion ſcratched himſelf, and roared: I ſaid, with old Keckſey in the farce, Who's afraid? My little band ſhall take the field alone. I derived courage alſo, from the conſideration, that infantry have, in general, the better of cavalry: and, as I could not doubt, but your

* "Indeed the author ſeems to ſhew the ſame veneration for ignoraunce, as the Turks do for folly: who never ſee an ideot but they think him inſpired." *Apology*, p. 72.

worſhip, like any errant knight, would ſtill keep mounted on your *Cuthite* hobby-horſe, I fancied, it might not be quite impoſſible, by clapping a little pepper, preciſely in the place where your friend Scoggan peered for the qualities of his horſe, to make your cavaletto cut a caper, and bathonically *incline his* rider's *head to ſeek the nether ſky*. Indeed, nothing in the world ſeems more happily calculated to illuſtrate your friend's idea of the *Suſpended Progreſſion* (*Apol.* p. 92.) than this ſame ſyſtematic hobby; which long may your honour beſtride. You ſeem, it is true, to make great advances; but get not one ſtep forward. You appear to be carried on; but after a little hurry of ſpirits, and a few giddy evolutions, you, and the friends who mount behind you, are ſet down exactly where you ſet out. Nothing indeed can better explain it, as you remark, than the operation of the Catulus culinarius ſive canis ὁ μαγειρικὸς Bathonienſium; which we find thus expreſſed by the poet;

——— *Orbiculo fertur revolutus eodem*
Progrediturque retro præceps ſcanditque deorſum.

AND now, my good Sir, permit me to take leave, with every wiſh of ſucceſs to the third edition of your work †; which you obligingly

† "And now, good ſir, give me leave in the moſt amicable manner to conclude. You took notice in a particu-

tell me I have contributed ſo much to advance: for it is undoubtedly, as you obſerve, in re-

lar paſſage, that you thought it your duty to defend the merits of the Perſian and Arabian languages. You cannot but think me under an obligation to ſtand up for my own writings. I hope therefore, that what I have ſaid, will be taken in good part. You have certainly in ſome inſtances nearly cancelled the kind compliments, which you made me: but in general you have behaved with very great politeneſs. Your ſtanding up in my defence againſt the perſons who traduced me abroad, does as much honour to yourſelf as to me: and lays me under an obligation, which I ſhall be always ready to acknowledge. Though I may have ſmiled at your borrowing from me, and placing your references in the rear: yet I am very happy, that there was any thing worth your taking. Indeed I am under other obligations to you beſide the above. As there are ſeveral copies of my Analyſis ſtill remaining in the bookſeller's hands, no body writes againſt me, but what ſome of them go off. Mr. Barrington did me the honour to call me to an account; I ſuppoſe not leſs than twenty copies went upon the occaſion. The Dean of Exeter made ſome kind ſtrictures both upon me and Mr. Barrington: this carried off about the ſame number. Anonymous benefited me by about fifteen. Another Anonymous ten: Ditto eight. My friends of Amſterdam not quite ſo many. When I was in town ſome weeks ago, Mr. Elmſly (whoſe zeal for his author can never be ſufficiently admired) took me aſide, and ſhewed me the very Diſſertation, upon which we have been dwelling ſo largely. It came out, ſays he, but yeſterday; and I ſold two of your copies laſt night; and one this morning. He then added with a whiſper, — *If they abuſe you much longer, we muſt have a third edition.*" Apol. p. 98.

ſpect to the Grecian writers, a rich mine, though mixed with baſe concretions. You, Sir, have kindly loaded me with much good advice. Permit me, in return, to offer you a little; though I am much afraid, indeed, it may experience the fate of your's. It will be neglected. But it is nevertheleſs wholeſome: and, if followed, inſtead of *three*, I ſhould not diſpair of ſeeing *thirty* editions in a very ſhort time. To reduce your *Syſtem* to thoſe ſtrange things called Truth or Reaſon, might well be viewed as the eleventh labour of Hercules. I could not counſel you to that Augean taſk. My recipe is ſhort and ſimple. Change but the Title, and all is well. Expunge *A New Analyſis*, and read *A New Romance of Ancient Mythology*.

PROOFS

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Sect. I. Page. 294. [f] SEE Mr. Bryant's Mythology, Vol. I. p. 158.

P. 297. [k] Plato de Legibus, l. iii. Cicero Epiſt. ad Quintum Fratrem.

P. 299. [l] Jackſon's Chronological Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 257.

P. 300. [m] Jackſon's Chron. Vol. I. 256, 273, 408, 409, 416. Newton's Chron. p. 8, 265, &c. Univerſal Hiſt. Vol. II. (fol. edit.) p. 87. Voſſii Chron. Sacr. p. 183.

P. 302. [n o] Jackſon's Chron. Vol. I. p. 454. Voſſii Chron. Sacr. p. 215.

P. 355. [p] Jackſon's Chron. Vol. I. on the Babylonian and Aſſyrian dynaſties.

P. 308. [q] Eſther ch. vi. 1, 2. Ezra ch. iv. 15, &c. vi. 1, &c.

P. 309. [r] Herodot Weſſeling. l. vii. p. 538. et ſeq. Iſocrat. Panathenaicos, p. 381. Dr. Gillies's Orations

of Lyſias and Iſocrates, p. 42. Diodor. Rhodoman. lib. ii. p. 243—5. Pliny l. 33. c. 10. Ælian. var. hiſt. l. 13. c. 3. Plutarch in Themiſt.

P. 310. [u] Herodot. l. vii. p. 612. Diodor. l. ii. p. 259.

P. 315. [x] Herodot. l. iii. p. 244. Gillies's Introduct. to Orations of Lyſias and Iſocrates, p. xiv. Curtius l. v. Diodor. l. 18. Arrian l. iii. c. 16. Juſtin. l. 13. Alexander, we are told, found above 350,000 thouſand talents in the different treaſuries of the Perſian empire, and the annual revenue received, according to Juſtin, was 300,000 talents, above 58,000,000l. This is apparently much exaggerated; being above twenty-one times more than the revenue of Darius Hyſtaſpes, according to Herodotus.

P. 516. [y] Diodor. l. 17. Curtius l. 3, &c. Juſtin l. 10, &c. Arrian l. 1, 2, &c. Juſtin makes the Perſian army, at the paſſage of the Granicus, 620,000; and Arrian 200,000: but Diodorus is generally followed, whoſe numbers are 110,000.

P. 318. [c] Diodor. l. 4. Strabo l. 4. Appian ſays, that Cæſar killed one million of Gauls; and took another million priſoners. But Paterculus makes the number ſlain only 400,000, which agrees beſt with Cæſar himſelf. By theſe calculations, if we even had not the commentaries of the conqueror, we might form a judgment of the difficulties of ſuch conqueſts; and how far the mere idea of a ſupremacy over an extent of territory, will often carry the moſt enlightened people.

P. 319. [d] Herod. l. vii. p. 546, &c. Diodor. l. 11. &c.

P. 320. [f] Herod. et Diodor. ubi ſupra. Gillies's Intr. to Orat. of Lyſias and Iſocrates, p. xvii.

P. 322. [g] Gillies's Orat. of Lyſias and Iſocrates, p. 55.

P. 328. [l] Hume on the populouſneſs of ancient nations, Vol. II. edit. 1760. p. 230.

P. 329. [m] As I ſhall bid adieu to Oriental learning, and indeed to every other literary purſuit, the moment I have completed the ſecond volume of my Dictionary; I take this opportunity of offering my opinion on the fate of this branch of learning. Unleſs ſome ſteady plan of encouragement is adopted by thoſe who have power to promote it, it muſt apparently languiſh in a ſtate of lethargy, hardly differing from a non-exiſtence: for, till young men in general ſhall have the proſpect of recommending themſelves by ſuch purſuits, one or two, or half a dozen in a nation, can never go very far in the improvement of any ſcience. Had mathematics been as little followed, we had never ſeen a Newton. Had Greek been as much neglected, we ſhould have had few of the excellent works which have been formed upon their models. Were an hundred ſtudents to attach themſelves to Eaſtern tongues, inſtead of not a twentieth part, perhaps; an half, poſſibly, of theſe might make conſiderable progreſs; and a few might arrive at perfection. What the life and leiſure of one or two men muſt be quite unequal to, a few years of ſuch a number might eaſily accompliſh. Manuſcripts, which, at preſent, might almoſt as well be at Japan, would then be explored: and, from among a great many of ſmall value, ſome real literary treaſures would perhaps be diſcovered, in which religion, hiſtory, and general ſcience, might be greatly intereſted.

Sect. II. P. 331. [b] حلوان *hulwan*, كابين *kabeen*, or كاوين *kaveen*, A marriage portion: alſo, paraphernalia in

the diſpoſal of the wife. صداق *ſadak* A marriage ſettlement.

P. 333, &c. [cdefgh] See Abulpharaj's dynaſties—Eutychius's Annals. — Tarikhu'l'Moſlemin.—D'Herbelot, p. 338. Abulghazi Khan, part ii. ch. 15.——The favourite widow of Tuli Khan, ſon of Jengiz Khan, governed as regent, during the minority of her children *Abulgazi Khan*, part ii. ch. 9. The Tartar women in general, and eſpecially thoſe to the North and Eaſt ſides of the Caſpian Sea, from the earlieſt accounts of thoſe parts, have gone to war, armed in the ſame manner as the men. Among the captives and hoſtages taken by Pompey from the Iberians and Albanians, after the defeat of Mithridates, there were a number of women who were much wounded. *Appian. Bell. Mithrid. Ed. Steph.* p. 242. Baſilius Batozi, in his Greek map of the Caſpian Sea, printed at London 1730, ſays, (Art. 4.) that he ſaw two virgin warriors of the Caſac country, who had been taken priſoners by the Bucharians, inhumanly put to death in cold blood. — See alſo *Wiſe on the firſt Inhabitants, &c. of Europe*, p. 22. Likewiſe the *Sieur Bernier* on the beauty and bravery of the Tartar women. And *Abulgazi*, p. 460, 639.

P. 340. [l] The Vizir Nezam's Inſtructions to his ſon.

P. 341. [k] نقل *nukl* Preſents ſent by a bridegroom to his bride. شغار *ſhighar* A double treaty of marriage, to avoid paying portions.

P. 342. [l] D'Herbelot, p. 436.

P. 343. [m] قلب *kelb*, نثار *niſar*, ماخ *makh*, نبهرج *nabehrej*, نبهره *nebehré* Bad money, which they uſually throw among the populace at marriage proceſſions. نخم *nekhem*

or تخم *tekhem* Cloths ſtretched on ſticks, in which they catch the money, ſweetmeats, &c. thrown away on thoſe occaſions.—See alſo Abulghazi Khan, p. 482.

P. 344. [n] شربها *ſheerbeha* The portion or preſents which a bride carries to her future huſband. Theſe are alſo called رخت عروس *rukhti aroos*, and سعف *ſaaf*. عقر *aker* A bride's portion: alſo a compenſation for vitiated virginity.—Amianus Marcellinus obſerves, that it was common for the Arabian brides to preſent their huſbands with a ſpear and a tent. — See a variety of new and judicious obſervations on the importance of women, on the Morgengabe, the dower, and other matrimonial cuſtoms among the old Germans, and other European nations; in a work of elegance and deep reſearch, lately publiſhed, intituled, *A View of Society in Europe, by Gilbert Stuart*, LL.D. p. 19, 33, &c. See alſo Tacit. de Morib. Germ. c. 18.

P. 344. [o] كابين *kabeen* A dower paid to a wife, if divorced without a cauſe. خلع *khela* A divorce, at the requeſt of the wife; on which occaſion ſhe gives up all her marriage ſettlements, and the preſents ſhe had received from her huſband. The ſame ideas prevail among the Tartars. See Abulgazi Khan, p. 484. تحليل *tuhleel* Marrying a thrice-divorced woman. سبكتكين *ſebuktegeen* A divorced woman returning to her huſband, and cohabiting with him, without the ceremony of a re-marriage: which is eſteemed infamous.

P. 345. [p] المتعه *almutah* Marrying a temporary wife. This word ſignifies alſo *enjoyment*. — See alſo D'Herbelot, p. 473, 581.

P. 346. [q] See Dr. Stuart's view of Society in Europe, p. 237.

P. 347. [r] مقت *makt* The hated marriage: where a man married his father's widow—Abulgazi Khan, Part II. ch. 8.—Lord Hailes's Annals of Scotland, p. 39.—Dr. Stuart's View of Society in Europe, p. 197.—Abulgazi Khan, p. 406.—ربصت *ribſat* A certain time allowed a woman to marry again; if her huſband, when abroad, did not return. — حلال *helal* A woman laying aſide mourning for her huſband, at the end of 110 days, during which time ſhe cannot re-marry. نشان *niſhan* Marrying by a ring. See alſo Dictionary سرب *ſerb*.

See an ingenious Diſcourſe prefixed to the Orations of Lyſias and Iſocrates, lately publiſhed by John Gillies, L. L. D. for a number of curious facts relative to the ſeverity and diſreſpect with which women were treated in ancient Greece, p. xcvi.

P. 348. [t] [u] گلغوند or گلگون *gulghun* Roſe-colour; سرخاب *ſurkhab* Red water; شنجار *ſhinjar*, حمره *humreh*, ارخنده *arkhundeh*, Different kinds of red colours uſed in painting the face, nails, &c. سفیده *ſefideh*, سپیده *ſepideh*, or سپیداب *ſepideh* White water; سپیده زنان *ſepideh zenan* Ladies white; هرهفت *herheft*; A kind of ceruſe; alſo a reddiſh white; صفرا *ſafra* and غمرة *ghumret* Saffron; ورس *wers* and ایراس *iras* A yellow waſh for the face; کهل *kuhl* A black collyrium for painting the eyes; عصام *aſam* Another kind of collyrium; راسخت *raſkhut* An oil expreſſed with a hot iron from a preparation

of antimony and galls; with which they tinge the eyebrows and laſhes of a fine black. سلتا *ſalta* A ſlattern, negligent of her dreſs; who neither colours her hair nor nails. كتم *kitem* An herb which, mixed with Cyprus or privet, makes a dye for the hair. غسلة *ghuſlet* Perfumes with which women ſprinkle their hair while combing. In ſome parts of Arabia they paint the lips black; which is called لعس *la-as*. The wild Arabs prick figures on their ſkin, and then rub it over with woad, indigo, or ſaffron; which leaves an indelible impreſſion. This operation they name وشم *weſhim* or نسغ *neſigh*. موتشر *mute-ſhir* Having the teeth thinned and ſharpened by art. واشرة *waſhiret* A woman whoſe profeſſion it is to thin and ſharpen the teeth.

P. 350. [v] The following is a verſe of the Perſian Poet Hafez:

اگر ان ترك شيرازي بدست ارد دل مارا
بخال هندويش بخشم سمرقندو بخارارا

Egher an turki Shirazi bedeſt ared dili mara
Bekhali henduiſh bakhſhem Samarcandu Bokharara.

If that lovely maid of Shiraz would accept my heart, I would give for the mole on her cheek the cities of Sacand and Bukhara.

P. 352. [x] سرخوج *ſerkhooj* A plume of feathers adorned with gold and jewels; with which the Perſian ladies and great men orament their head-dreſs. كرتك *kurtek*-and زلف *zulf* The feathers of herons, cranes, oſtriches, and other birds, in the heads of women and men of rank. The Bukharian or Uſbec women let their hair flow down

their backs, and braid it with pearls and other jewels. The Calmaks of Little Bukhara wear their ear-rings very long, almoſt touching their ſhoulders, and dreſs their hair with embroidered ribbons, and taſſels of ſilk, wrought with gold and ſilver, which reach to their heels. Abulgazi, p. 456, 477. سرش *ſeriſh* or سریوش *ſeriyuſh* and معجر *majer* A veil. سرخارہ *ſerkhareh* A golden bodkin, with which the veil is faſtened to the head-dreſs. سمط *ſymt* A long necklace, hanging down the boſom. خلد *kheled* Ear-rings; alſo bracelets. قرط *kyret* An ear-ring for the lob. شنف *ſhenf* A ring for the top of the ear. فتخة *fetkhet* A plain ring without a beazel, either for the hands or feet. قلادة *keladet* و *zeh* Ornaments for the neck, &c. مرفد *murfed*, عظمة *azmet*, رفاعة *rafat* Cuſhions, or quilting of the petticoats, to give a prominence. See alſo Abulgazi Khan, p. 610. The Tungos Tartar women conſider it as a beauty to mark their face with black ſpots. Abulgazi, p. 639.

P. 352. [y] D'Herbelot, p. 689.

SECT. III. p. 359. [d] Preliminary Diſcourſe to Sale's Koran.—D'Herbelot, p. 514.

P. 358. [e] D'Herbelot, p. 257.

P. 359. [f] Tatikhu'l'moſlemin, (the Hiſtoria Saracenica of Erpenius) p. 286.

P. 360. [g h i k] See Tarikh Salaheddin, Ben Shounah, and various other Hiſtorians on the life of Saladin, and the Cruzades: Vertot Hiſtoire de l'Ordre de Malte, Vol. i. p. 207, &c.—D'Herbelot, p. 108, 194, 453, 505, 544, 634.—And the Hiſtories of England, under the reign of Edward I.

P. 364. [i] Epictet. Enchirid. Sect. 33, 43.

P. 366. [b] D'Herbelot, p. 535.—P. 368. [c] Ib. p. 433. —P. 370. [d] See Tarikhu'l'moſlemin, p. 116. D'Herbelot, p. 3, 190, 388.—P. 375. [e] Ib. p. 442.—P. 377. [f] Ib. p. 170, 888.—P. 377. [g] Ib. p. 432.—P. 379. [h] Ib. p. 537.

CHAP. II. SECT. I. P. 382. [c] See Boileau, Sat. ix. l. 171, 176.

P. 385. [a] For various examples of the manner in which our learned author treats preceding writers, ſee the *Analyſis*, paſſim.—For one or two ſpecimens turn to p. 433, 451, 465, of this Diſſertation.

P. 386. [g] See Apol. p. 68,78, 89, &c.

——— The firſt edition of the Diſſertation was publiſhed in November laſt. When the *Apology* appeared I cannot tell. I was favoured with it about the end of March or beginning of April. Though the firſt edition of the Diſſertation was then ſold off, as the Bookſellers repeatedly informed me, I did not mean to have interrupted more neceſſary buſineſs, by attending to the ſecond, till towards winter. But, on receiving Mr. Bryant's favour, I reſolved to take the earlieſt opportunity, that the preſs would permit, to return my compliments for ſuch polite notice. I have only further to obſerve, that my Bookſeller (Mr. Murray) wrote to me of date the 8th of June, after the ſheet, to which this note refers, was printed; that Mr. Bryant, on *the 27th of April*, had ſent him a copy of his pamphlet, for my uſe: but, as he knew I had got it before, he had not thought of mentioning it ſooner. Though late, and not ſent in the propereſt manner, yet I think it fair to mention this circumſtance; to return the learned gentleman my thanks; and to beg his acceptance

of my Diſſertation; which I ſhall order to be forwarded the moment of publication.

SECT. II. p. 389. [b] The Samaritan Pentateuch, we may obſerve, differs both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint, in reſpect to the era of the Deluge, which it fixes in the year of the creation 1307. Some of the copies of the Septuagint make it to have happened in the year 2242; Joſephus in 2256; and Dr. Jackſon chuſes to follow him. How theſe diſcrepancies aroſe the learned have been much divided. Thoſe who eſpouſe the Hebrew chronology, among whom are Uſher, Walton, Father Simon, and many others, ſuppoſe an alteration to have been made by the Septuagint tranſlators (who firſt turned the Hebrew into Greek, about 280 years before the Chriſtian era, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt) in order to reconcile it better with Greek chronology. But the advocates for this verſion, particularly Iſaac Voſſius and Dr. Jackſon, inſiſt, that the patriarchal genealogies were adulterated by the Jews in the ſecond century of the Chriſtian era; in order to give them above 1400 years more for the coming of their Meſſiah.—Among many objections, however, which may be made to this theory, they do not ſeem to have explained in a ſatisfactory manner, how a people, then ſcattered over the whole earth, and who had never been unanimous in any thing, ſhould have ſo exactly agreed to alter every copy, in different places of the world; ſo as to make them all, in this particular, perfectly alike.—The lives of the Antediluvian and Poſtdiluvian patriarchs, it may be noticed, with one or two exceptions, are of the ſame duration in all; the diſagreements ariſing from the ages at which they are ſuppoſed to have begot their ſons. Adam, for exam-

ple, is, by the Hebrew Bible, ſaid to have begot Seth at the age of 130; and to have lived afterwards 800 years; but by the Septuagint, he begat Seth when 230 years old, and lived after that time 700. The difference of time which grows from the whole is 1422 years: the period from the creation to the Chriſtian era being, by the Hebrew, 4004 years: by the Septuagint 5426. Thoſe who wiſh to ſee the conjectures of the learned on this ſubject, may conſult the Prolegomena to Brian Walton's Polyglot Bible: Uſher's Chronology: Father Simon's Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament: Iſaac Voſſius on the Septuagint: Capellus's Chronologia Sacra: Dr. Shuckford's Connection of Sacred and Profane Hiſtory: Dr. Jackſon's Chronological Antiquities: and others.

P. 393. [f] Mythology, Vol. III. p. 355, 365. In my Bible, the Exodus is dated in 1491: but Walton, in his Prolegomena to the Polyglot, (p. 7.) makes it in 1496, or in the year of the world 2508.

P. 394. [g] Our learned author treats poor Pliny rather hardly on another occaſion, for having made one ſlight ſtumble, in a matter of ſmall comparative importance: and which may, after all, be an error in tranſcribing. He deems him wholly unworthy of credit, on the following ground: "As to the high antiquity aſſigned to letters by "Pliny; it is impoſſible to give any credence to that au- "thor, who from 720 years infers eternity, and ſpeaks of "thoſe terms as ſynonymous." Myth. Vol. III. p. 125. Plinii Nat. Hiſt. l. 7. p. 413. See alſo the Prefaces to Myth. Vol. I. and III.

P. 398. [h] Several writers of eminence ſuppoſe Ararat to have been a mountain in Scythia. See Martin Luther, Enarrat. in Geneſ. p. 105.—Gorop. Becanus, Indo-Scy-

thica, p. 479. — Wiſe on the firſt inhabitants of Europe, p. 8. &c.

Sect. III. p. 399. [g] Myth. Vol. III. p. 24.

P. 405. [l] Bochart. Geog. Sacr. p. 257.

P. 406. [m] Bochart. p. 260. Hyde Relig. Vet. Perſ. p. 41, 42.—Myth. Vol. III. p. 64.—Jackſon's Chron. Vol. I. p. 230.

P. 410. [o] Jackſon's Chron. Vol. I. p. 233.—Bedford's Scripture Chron. p. 254.

Sect. IV. P. 414. [b] Obſervations, on the miſquotations, the wilful inconſiſtency, the perverſions of hiſtory, the wrong zeal of Joſephus, and of the fathers, occur repeatedly in the Mythology, as well as in Dr. Jackſon and other writers. See Myth. Vol. III. p. 101, 105, 106, 107, 351, 352, 354, &c. Jackſon's Chron. Vol. I. p. 413, &c.

P. 415. [c] Jackſon's Chron. Vol. III. p. 2. Dodwell on Sanconiathon, Lond. 1691.—Wiſe on the firſt inhabitants &c. of Europe, p. 54.

P. 416. [d] Wiſe on the Chronology of the Fabulous ages, p. 35.—Jackſon's Chron. Vol. II. p. 94. Stillingfleet Orig. Sacr. book i. c. 2.

P. 419. [e] Arrian. Exped. Alexand. lib. iii. c. 16. lib. vii. c. 16, 17.

P. 420. [f] Jackſon's Chron. Vol. I. p. 196. et ſeq. — Myth. Vol. III. from p. 95. to 126.

Sect. V. P. 436. [b] Myth. Vol. I. p. 215. — Apology, p. 81.

P. 446. [l] Dr. Jackſon, (Vol. I. p. 226.) conſiders the Hebrew, Phœnician, Chaldee, Syrian, Arabian, Egyptian, and Ethiopian, to be only different dialects of the ſame language. He, as well as Bochart (p. 57.) and many others, who have delivered their opinions on the an-

tiquity of languages, conſider the Greek as later than any of theſe. But our learned author, in his *Apology*, p. 67. after aſſerting, without giving any authority, that the Greek is older than the Arabic and Perſic, ſays, "If I "am under a miſtake, I believe, that ninety-nine out of "an hundred will be found in the ſame predicament." Indeed I fancy it may be fairly reverſed; the ninety-nine will be againſt him, in reſpect at leaſt to the Arabic. I have every reaſon for believing the Perſian to have been alſo of extreme antiquity: and I have given ſome reaſons for thinking ſo, in the preceding part of the Diſſertation, (p. 11. et ſeq. 103, 238, 251.) but as it is impoſſible to ſpeak deciſively, till the diſcovery of ſome undoubted ancient manuſcripts, I ſhall dwell no longer upon it at preſent.

P. 449. [l] Abulgazi Khan Hiſt. Tartar, p. 44, and 473.

P. 453. [l] Mythol. Vol. II. p. 58, 60, et ſeq. 83, 206. et ſeq. 209, 236, 247, 253, et ſeq. 274, 278, 450, et paſſim.

P. 455. [m] Vol. II. 492. et ſeq.

P. 460. [n o p q] "What are we to underſtand, (ſays our learned author, Vol. III. p. 135.) "by Scythia? It "is an unlimited, undefined term, under which Grecian "ignorance ſheltered itſelf." Vid. alſo from p. 143 to 232.

P. 464. [t] D'Herbelot, p. 65.

P. 465. [u] Myth. Vol. III. p. 134.

P. 467. See alſo the Mythology paſſim: and this Diſſertation, p. 427, 447, 452, &c. Sir Roger Dowlas was actually the name by which the Nabob Suraja Dowla was generally called in Admiral Watſon's fleet.

P. 468. Myth. Vol. II. p. 57. et ſeq. Vol. III. p. 104. and this Diſſertation. p. 422.

P. 471. [b] Our author has, in ſeveral paſſages of his *Apology*, told me that I had borrowed from his Analyſis a *great deal* indeed. I ſhall now proceed to conſider what this *great deal* amounts to: and juſt obſerve, *en paſſant*, that I not only gave him credit for every line worth mentioning, but made a general acknowledgment in a Note on p. 32 (p. 38 of this edition) in caſe, from inadvertency, I had any where miſtaken or omitted my references. This, I really ſuppoſed, was all that was neceſſary on ſuch occaſions; and more than was common: but, as the learned gentleman thinks differently, I ſhall deſcend to particulars.

[It may be proper to premiſe, that, by the diviſion of this edition into ſections, and a few additions, the folios differ from the former. I ſhall therefore diſtinguiſh the firſt by [a], and the ſecond by [b]]

My obligations to the learned gentleman will be found to conſiſt almoſt entirely of the diſcordant hiſtories and eras of the Greek writers; with which it would be eaſy, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from any man, to fill volumes, inſtead of a few lines.—The *firſt* which occurs is in the the note on p. 11 [a]. p. 13 [b]. with regard to the diſagreements on Zoroaſter; ſeveral of which, without thinking it of conſequence to ſearch deeper, I adopted from the *Analyſis*, Vol. II. p. 108. et ſeq.——The *ſecond* is the little ſtory of Lyſimachus and the Greek hiſtorian, p. 33 [a]. 41 [b]. for which I find I have not given him credit. It is in Vol. I. p. 100.—The *third* is the idea of the piracy of the ancient Greeks (p. 45, 46 [a]. p. 54, 55 [b].) which I really cannot conſider as either new or important: but it will be found in Vol. III. p. 548.—The *fourth* is in p. 68 [a]. p. 82 [b]. in relation to ſome diſcordant dates of